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# **HISTORY OF ENGLAND**

**DURING**

**THE MIDDLE AGES.**

**VOL. IV.**

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BOOK I

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

1066

Luke Hansard & Sons,  
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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND  
DURING  
THE MIDDLE AGES.

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VOL. IV.

CONTAINING THE  
LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD III. THE REIGN OF  
HENRY VII. AND THE LITERARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

~~~~~  
SECOND EDITION.

=====

BY  
SHARON TURNER, F.S.A. R.A.L.

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# T A B L E

OF

## C O N T E N T S.

### VOLUME IV.

#### BOOK I.

1484—1509.

#### CHAP. I.

RICHARD'S EMBASSIES TO BRETAGNE. RICHMOND'S ESCAPE.  
RICHARD'S MENTAL AGITATIONS AND REPENTANCE. PRE-  
PARATIONS TO REPEL INVASION. THE QUEEN'S DAUGHTERS  
AT HIS COURT. HIS SON'S DEATH. RICHMOND'S OPERA-  
TIONS. DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE.

A.D.

page

|                                      |       |     |
|--------------------------------------|-------|-----|
| RICHARD sends Dr. Hutton to Bretagne | - - - | 2   |
| Richmond's danger                    | - - - | ib. |
| Richard's mental agitations          | - - - | 4   |
| - - - - - repentance                 | - - - | 6   |
| 1484. Preparations against invasion  | - - - | 8   |
| The queen's daughters at court       | - - - | 12  |
| Richard's son's death                | - - - | 14  |
| Richmond's operation                 | - - - | 16  |
| Death of queen Anne                  | - - - | 20  |

| A. D. |                                             | page |
|-------|---------------------------------------------|------|
|       | Richard's oath not to marry Elizabeth - - - | 25   |
|       | His exaction of benevolencies - - -         | 28   |
| 1485. | Richmond lands at Milford Haven - - -       | 31   |
|       | His march through Wales - - -               | 32   |
|       | Richard taken by surprise - - -             | 34   |
|       | Lord Stanley's hypocrisy - - -              | 36   |
|       | Richard's dreams - - -                      | 41   |
|       | Battle of Bosworth Field, 22 Aug. - - -     | 44   |
|       | Richard falls - - -                         | 49   |
|       | Richmond crowned on the field - - -         | 51   |

## CHAP. II.

REVIEW OF THE CHARACTER, LAWS, CAUSES OF UNPOPULARITY, KINDNESSES, TASTES, AMUSEMENTS, AND FOREIGN TRADE, OF RICHARD III.

| A. D. |                                                     | page |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------|------|
|       | Injustice to Richard - - -                          | 55   |
|       | Ingratitude to Richard - - -                        | 57   |
|       | His liberalities - - -                              | ib.  |
|       | - - repentance - - -                                | 60   |
|       | His modes of expiation - - -                        | 62   |
|       | - - efforts to reform vices and abuses - - -        | 65   |
|       | Why called a tyrant - - -                           | 69   |
|       | His forced loans - - -                              | 72   |
|       | - - beneficial laws - - -                           | 73   |
|       | He represses the retinue of the great - - -         | 75   |
|       | His conduct towards the church - - -                | 77   |
|       | Panegyric of him by the convocation - - -           | 79   |
|       | His letter to his mother - - -                      | 81   |
|       | - - kindnesses to the ladies of his opponents - - - | ib.  |
|       | - - other bounties - - -                            | 83   |
|       | He buries Henry VI. at Windsor - - -                | 84   |
|       | His personal tastes and pleasures - - -             | 86   |
|       | - - love of music - - -                             | ib.  |
|       | - - falconry and hunting - - -                      | 87   |
|       | - - bears and apes - - -                            | 88   |
|       | - - attention to trade - - -                        | 89   |



# CONTENTS.

vii

|                                               | page |
|-----------------------------------------------|------|
| Voyages to Iceland - - - - -                  | 91   |
| His extreme energy - - - - -                  | 92   |
| Whether Columbus was in Richard's service - - | 94   |

## CHAP. III.

### THE REIGN OF HENRY VII.

A. D.

|       |                                           |     |
|-------|-------------------------------------------|-----|
|       | Henry VI. foretells his elevation - - - - | 100 |
|       | Birth of Henry VII. - - - - -             | 101 |
| 1470. | His imprisonment in Bretagne - - - -      | 103 |
| 1485. | His entry into London - - - - -           | 104 |
|       | - - first parliament - - - - -            | 106 |
|       | Crown settled on him and his heirs - - -  | ib. |
| 1486. | He marries Elizabeth - - - - -            | 108 |
|       | His tour through England - - - - -        | 109 |
|       | Lovel attempts to surprise him - - - -    | 110 |
|       | His son Arthur born - - - - -             | 113 |
|       | Lambert Simnel's pretension - - - - -     | 116 |
| 1487. | Battle at Stoke, June 16 - - - - -        | 120 |
|       | Perkin Warbeck - - - - -                  | 123 |
|       | Examinations of Tyrrel and Dighton - -    | 124 |
| 1495. | Perkin goes to Scotland, July - - - -     | 128 |
| 1496. | Battle on Blackheath, 22 June - - - -     | 129 |
| 1497. | Perkin taken - - - - -                    | 131 |
|       | His confession - - - - -                  | ib. |
|       | State and reforms of the church - - - -   | 133 |
|       | Vices in the abbey of St. Albans - - -    | 136 |
| 1494. | Old woman burnt for heresy - - - -        | 138 |
|       | Henry's foreign politics - - - - -        | 139 |
|       | Flanders saved from France - - - - -      | ib. |
|       | French king gains Bretagne - - - - -      | 142 |

## CHAP. IV.

FOREIGN ALLIANCES OF HENRY VII. HIS CHARACTER;—  
PUBLIC VIEWS;—DEATH;—AND BENEFICIAL LAWS.

| A.D.  |                                                      | page |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------|------|
|       | His various alliances - - - - -                      | 145  |
| 1501. | His son Arthur marries Catherine - - - - -           | 146  |
|       | His queen dies - - - - -                             | 147  |
|       | Sir James Tyrrel beheaded - - - - -                  | 148  |
|       | Henry's character - - - - -                          | 149  |
|       | Dudley's account of the monies he received - - - - - | 156  |
| 1509. | Henry's illness - - - - -                            | 159  |
|       | - - - - death, 22 April - - - - -                    | 161  |
|       | Substance of his laws - - - - -                      | 166  |



## BOOK II.

### THE LITERARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

---

#### CHAP. I.

##### REVIEW OF THE CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF LITERATURE BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

400—1000.

|                                                              | page |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Decline of letters in the Roman Empire - - -                 | 175  |
| Ascribed by Romans to their moral degeneracy - -             | 178  |
| Gothic nations not unwilling to acquire literature - -       | 183  |
| The classical literature become incompetent to improve them, | 186  |
| Sophistical philosophy of Greece - - - -                     | 189  |
| Rhetorical literature of Rome - - - -                        | 191  |
| Effects of these evils - - - -                               | 195  |
| The Gothic nations imbibe the rhetorical spirit - -          | 198  |
| Its injurious effects on the human mind - - -                | 201  |
| Grecian literature equally declines - - - -                  | 205  |

#### CHAP. II.

##### HISTORY OF THE REVIVAL OF THE LATIN LITERATURE IN ENGLAND, AFTER THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

|                                              | page |
|----------------------------------------------|------|
| Latin literature of the Anglo-Saxons - - - - | 210  |
| Its decline - - - -                          | ib.  |
| Revived by Lanfranc - - - -                  | 213  |
| Anselm succeeds him - - - -                  | 217  |
| Anglo-Normans become eager for study - - -   | ib.  |
| A striking instance of this - - - -          | 219  |
| Schools every where established - - - -      | 220  |
| Pilgrimages through Greece - - - -           | 222  |
| Increase the ardour for study - - - -        | 223  |
| Its high patronage - - - -                   | 224  |
| MSS. multiplied by copies - - - -            | 225  |

|                                                                     | page |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Ignorance became discreditable - - - - -                            | 226  |
| First produce of the Anglo-Norman literature - - - - -              | 227  |
| Latin language attained - - - - -                                   | ib.  |
| Latin versifiers - - - - -                                          | 230  |
| W. Mapes verses on the ancient authors - - - - -                    | 231  |
| Alanus Parabolarum or Doctrinale - - - - -                          | 233  |
| Estimation of their intellectual utility - - - - -                  | 235  |
| Valuable chronicles of the Anglo-Norman monks - - - - -             | 236  |
| Limited utility of the Roman classics - - - - -                     | 238  |
| And of their ancient imitators - - - - -                            | 239  |
| The trivium and quadrivium - - - - -                                | 240  |
| Improved intellect not formed by study only - - - - -               | 241  |
| Literature declines when society degenerates - - - - -              | 242  |
| Latin literature not fitted for popular instruction - - - - -       | 243  |
| Unfavourable to the rise of original genius - - - - -               | 244  |
| Vernacular literature wanted for the national improvement - - - - - | 245  |

## CHAP. III.

## HISTORY OF ANGLO-NORMAN JONGLEURS AND MINSTRELS.

|                                                  | page |
|--------------------------------------------------|------|
| Their ancient appellations - - - - -             | 249  |
| How estimated by some - - - - -                  | 251  |
| Described by Brunne - - - - -                    | 252  |
| Piers Ploughman's satire - - - - -               | 254  |
| They are discountenanced by the church - - - - - | 255  |
| Their customs and performances - - - - -         | 256  |
| Talents of the more respectable - - - - -        | 259  |
| Attempts to improve them - - - - -               | 260  |

## CHAP. IV.

## HISTORY OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN VERNACULAR POETRY.

|                                                     | page |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------|
| Universality of the minstrel lays - - - - -         | 262  |
| Their corruptions - - - - -                         | 263  |
| Clergy induced to write vernacular poetry - - - - - | 265  |
| In the reign of Henry I. - - - - -                  | 266  |
| Popularity of their works - - - - -                 | 267  |
| Philip du Than's poem - - - - -                     | 271  |
| Theobald's Physiologus - - - - -                    | 272  |
| His verses de LEONE - - - - -                       | 274  |
| Marbodius on Gems - - - - -                         | 278  |
| Sanson de Nanteuils - - - - -                       | 279  |
| Wace's historical poems - - - - -                   | 281  |
| Jeffry of Monmouth's British History - - - - -      | 283  |
| Its great popularity - - - - -                      | 284  |
| Wace puts it into verse - - - - -                   | 288  |
| Gaimar's Estorie des Angles - - - - -               | 289  |
| Beneoit's Trojan poem - - - - -                     | 290  |
| - - - - - Roman de Normandie - - - - -              | 292  |
| Fictitious romances - - - - -                       | 294  |
| Wace's Chevalier au Leon - - - - -                  | ib.  |

## CHAP. V.

## ON THE ROMANCES UPON ARTHUR AND THE ROUND TABLE.

|                                                | page |
|------------------------------------------------|------|
| Origin of the romances on Arthur - - - - -     | 297  |
| From Bretagne and Wales - - - - -              | 300  |
| Intellectual cultivation of Bretagne - - - - - | 305  |
| The earliest romance, Tristan - - - - -        | 307  |
| Colophons of the ancient romances - - - - -    | 308  |



## CHAP. VI.

ON TURPIN'S HISTORY OF CHARLEMAGNE AND THE ROMANCES  
UPON THIS EMPEROR AND HIS PEERS, AND ON ALEXANDER.

|                                                | page |
|------------------------------------------------|------|
| When Turpin's romance first appeared - - - -   | 312  |
| Doubt as to the person of Roland - - - -       | 318  |
| Sanctioned and published by Calixtus II. - - - | 320  |

## Appendix 1.

|                                                                                                               |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Evidence and reasonings to show that Turpin's History of<br>Charlemagne originated from pope Calixtus II. - - | 326 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## Appendix 2.

|                                                                                                   |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| That Jeffry's British History probably originated from the<br>political views of Henry I. - - - - | 339 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|

## CHAP. VII.

ON THE LAYS AND FABLES OF MARIE. ON THE STYLE OF  
THE NORMAN TROUVEURS, AND ITS PROGRESS INTO THE  
PRESENT FRENCH.

|                                                     | page |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------|
| Account of Marie - - - -                            | 356  |
| Her lays, all Breton stories - - - -                | 358  |
| On their supernatural machinery - - - -             | 359  |
| Specimens of her imagination - - - -                | 361  |
| Her fables - - - -                                  | 368  |
| Lives of Saints in verse - - - -                    | 371  |
| Style of the Anglo-Saxon poetry - - - -             | 373  |
| Its decline - - - -                                 | 374  |
| The simple character of the Anglo-Norman poetry - - | 376  |
| On the language of the Norman Trouveurs - - -       | 377  |
| Facility of its rime - - - -                        | 383  |
| Its advantage to English poetry - - - -             | 384  |

CHAP. VIII.

ON THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF RIME IN THE  
MIDDLE AGES.

|                                                       | page |
|-------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Mental effects of rime - - - - -                      | 386  |
| Its origin - - - - -                                  | 389  |
| St. Austin used it in 384 - - - - -                   | 391  |
| Venantius Fortunatus, 570 - - - - -                   | 392  |
| Columbanus, 615 - - - - -                             | ib.  |
| St. Aldhelm, 710 - - - - -                            | 393  |
| Aneurin and Taliesin, 550 - - - - -                   | 394  |
| Llywarch Hen and Myrddhun, 580 - - - - -              | 395  |
| Boniface, 755 - - - - -                               | ib.  |
| Theobaldus Physiologus, 800 - - - - -                 | 396  |
| Otfrid, 870 - - - - -                                 | 397  |
| S <sup>t</sup> Bernard, 1100 - - - - -                | ib.  |
| Anselm, 1100 - - - - -                                | 398  |
| Peter, 1140 - - - - -                                 | ib.  |
| Berterus, 1150, and Hoveden, 1199 - - - - -           | 399  |
| On LEONINE RIME - - - - -                             | 400  |
| No person named Leo its author - - - - -              | 401  |
| Authors who used it before his reputed time - - - - - | ib.  |
| Most probable origin of the name - - - - -            | 403  |

CHAP. IX.

HISTORY OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ARABIAN SCIENCES  
INTO ENGLAND.

|                                                                    | page |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Intellectual improvement in England - - - - -                      | 405  |
| Apparent destruction of literature from the Gothic irruptions, 407 |      |
| The æra of its reformation - - - - -                               | ib.  |
| Progress of the conquering Arabs - - - - -                         | 409  |
| Their utilities and virtues - - - - -                              | 410  |
| Ancient literature of the Arabs - - - - -                          | 412  |
| Their application to the sciences - - - - -                        | 414  |
| They neglect the classical authors - - - - -                       | 415  |
| Al Manzor's encouragement of knowlege - - - - -                    | 417  |

|                                                        | page |
|--------------------------------------------------------|------|
| On the Arabian cultivation of natural philosophy - -   | 417  |
| Causes of its slow advance among the ancients - -      | 418  |
| Progress of the Arabians - - - - -                     | 432  |
| Intercourse of the Christians with the Spanish Arabs - | 433  |
| Sylvester II. - - - - -                                | 434  |
| Constantine Afer - - - - -                             | 436  |
| Other Christian students of Arabic - - - - -           | ib.  |
| English students - - - - -                             | 437  |
| Athelard's Arabian treatise - - - - -                  | 438  |
| Arabian studies pursued in England - - - - -           | 441  |
| Intellectual character of the Arabs - - - - -          | 443  |
| Avicenna and Al Gazel's works - - - - -                | 446  |
| Arabian studies of natural history - - - - -           | 449  |
| Their rhetoric - - - - -                               | 450  |
| The Arabian fables - - - - -                           | ib.  |
| Chronology of the Arabian philosophy - - - - -         | 449  |

## CHAP. X.

INTRODUCTION OF THE ARISTOTELIAN PHILOSOPHY INTO  
ENGLAND. ANALYSIS OF PORPHYRY'S ISAGOGUE. HISTORY  
AND OPINIONS OF ARISTOTLE. ANALYSIS OF ARISTOTLE'S  
CATEGORIES.

|                                                | page |
|------------------------------------------------|------|
| Subjects of the Arabian philosophers - - - - - | 453  |
| ANALYSIS of Porphyry's ISAGOGUE - - - - -      | 455  |
| History and writings of Aristotle - - - - -    | 462  |
| Their first publication - - - - -              | 469  |
| Some of his important opinions - - - - -       | 473  |
| ANALYSIS of his CATEGORIES - - - - -           | 478  |
| Their aim and use - - - - -                    | 485  |



CHAP. XI.

HISTORY OF THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY;—JOANNES ERIGENA;—ABELARD'S LIFE AND WORKS;—THE MOST FAMOUS DOCTORS OF THE SCHOOLMEN;—AL GAZEL, DUNS SCOTUS AND OCCHAM ON THE UNIVERSALS.

|                                               | page |
|-----------------------------------------------|------|
| Origin of the scholastic philosophy - - - - - | 490  |
| Joannes Erigena - - - - -                     | 491  |
| SYNOPSIS of his DE DIVISIONE NATURÆ - - - - - | 492  |
| The studies imported from Spain - - - - -     | 502  |
| Roscelin - - - - -                            | 503  |
| Abelard's life - - - - -                      | 504  |
| - - - - - Introduction to Theology - - - - -  | 509  |
| St. Bernard - - - - -                         | 510  |
| Abelard's latter days - - - - -               | 512  |
| - - - - - character - - - - -                 | 514  |
| Peter Lombard's sentences - - - - -           | 517  |
| The most famous Doctors - - - - -             | 518  |
| Their important effects on the mind - - - - - | 520  |
| Attacked by John of Salisbury - - - - -       | 521  |
| Other Schoolmen - - - - -                     | 525  |
| Their scepticism - - - - -                    | 527  |
| Defects of the Scholastic Logic - - - - -     | 538  |
| Ill effects of logical definitions - - - - -  | 537  |
| Al Gazel on the Universals - - - - -          | 540  |
| Extract from Duns Scotus - - - - -            | 541  |
| - - - - - W. Occham - - - - -                 | 543  |
| Nominalists and Realists - - - - -            | 548  |
| Extract from Thomas Aquinas - - - - -         | 549  |
| - - - - - Albertus Magnus - - - - -           | 553  |



# HISTORY

OF

# ENGLAND.

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## BOOK I.

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### CHAP. I.

*Richard's Embassies to Bretagne. Richmond's Escape. Richard's mental Agitations, and Repentance. Preparations to repel Invasion. The Queen's Daughters at his Court. His Son's Death. Richmond's Operations. Death of Queen Anne.*

THE eye of Richard was fixed on Bretagne, soon after his accession. His brother had been uneasy at the active and continually hostile Pembroke remaining there, with his nephew Richmond; and a restraint, as gently imposed as was consistent with security, watched and coerced them during Edward's life; who, before he died, had dispatched bishop Stillington to allure them into his power, or to procure them to be given up to him<sup>1</sup>.

Richmond was not at first an object of much jealousy to Richard. The queen's relations were those

CHAP

I.

1483.

<sup>1</sup> Grafton, 737.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

1483.

whom he thought dangerous; and on the 13th of July, seven days after his coronation, he sent Dr. Hutton to Bretagne<sup>2</sup>, to ascertain whether the duke countenanced sir Edward Woodville and his followers; and if any enterprize on England was intended<sup>3</sup>. But the plans of Buckingham to make Richmond king, and the actual sailing of the earl from Bretagne to invade him, directed his mind entirely to that country; and with his usual eagerness to forestall whatever danger threatened, he dispatched ambassadors to its duke, empowered to offer the most lavish bribes to obtain possession of the person of his new competitor<sup>4</sup>.

Rich-  
mond's  
danger.

The Breton sovereign was too much weakened by a malady, that affected his mental faculties, to be applied to on this occasion. But the mission was communicated to his treasurer and chief minister, Peter Landois; and this man, being at variance with the nobility of the province, and wanting both money and support, thought Richard's friendship of importance to his interest; and was preparing to fulfil his wishes, when, by some treachery in the king's cabinet, the negotiations were communicated to Morton in Flanders, "by his secret and sure friends." Urswick, the priest, who had managed the former treaty between the countess Margaret, her son, and Buckingham, was hurried off to apprise Richmond of his danger; and to urge him to withdraw immediately into a French province. With that correctness, and sedate celerity of judgment, which was one of Richmond's endowments, he di-

<sup>2</sup> Rym. Fœd. 197.

<sup>3</sup> See his Instructions, in Harl. MSS. N° 433, p. 241.

<sup>4</sup> Graft. 831. 2 Pol. Virg. 555.



rected the priest to depart instantly, to intreat permission of the French king to reside in his dominions; and mentioning to no one his intentions, sent his noble friends to pay a visit of inquiry after the duke's health, with a private hint to Pembroke to turn off from the road, to a town beyond the borders of Bretagne. Then mounting his horse, with five servants, as if to make a morning visit to an old friend in an adjoining village, he rode carelessly out of Vannes, mistrusted by no one. At five miles distance, he declined suddenly into a solitary wood that was near, put on the simple coat of a poor servant, whom he made the leader of his company; and followed as an humble page, riding as fast as it was prudent, and stopping no where but to bait their horses <sup>5</sup>.

He was not missed till the fourth day after his departure; when Landois, sending a band of soldiers, under a pretext of honoring him, but for the purpose of securing and of delivering him to Richard, discovered that he was gone. Couriers immediately hurried to every port, and horsemen to every road; and such was the rapidity of their pursuit, and the exactness of their scent, that they arrived at the frontier within an hour after Richmond had passed it. Having been obliged to take unknown ways for secrecy, and having turned often into contrary directions, to mislead his expected pursuers, he had only preceded them by that short interval. They durst not commit violence within the territory of France; and the earl got to Angiers, where Pembroke met, and exchanged the mutual congratulation <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Graft. 831. 2 Pol. Virg. 555.

<sup>6</sup> Pol. Virg. 555. Hall, 402—4.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

1483.

Richard's  
mental  
agitations.

The reflecting mind may ask, was Richard happy on one of the noblest of the European thrones? The wondrous moral arrangements of our social world; and the corresponding organization of our material frame, forbad this expected result<sup>7</sup>. He was not villain enough to be so. He came from a gentler stock; and had a nobler mind, and had learnt a more cultivated sensibility. He had yielded to the alarm, the tempting policy, and the seducing sophistry of a vain-glorious and endangered hour; and he destroyed his innocent nephews; but their fate lessened none of the perils which environed him, and his reason began to regret its precipitation. He could not but remember what he had done. He felt its condemnation in his own secret heart. He read it in the countenances of many. He suspected it amid the compliments of all. He heard it with unsparing severity, from the reproaches of his adversaries. Hence, we may fully credit the probable account of sir Thomas More:—The rest of his brief life, he “ spent in much pain and trouble outward; in much fear and anguish within. For I have heard by credible report, with such as were secret with his chamberers, that after this abominable deed done, he never had quiet in his mind; he never thought himself sure. Where he went abroad, his eyes

<sup>7</sup> I remember two trials for murder, in which one culprit, who had killed his master in Clifford's Inn, declared, that while he was taking the body out, to throw it down the common sewer, all the buildings seemed to burst into flames as he passed them; and another, who had destroyed his mother, never looked on a clock, at the hour he had done the crime, but he thought her face was in it, glaring upon him. There is a greater connection between murder and remorse, than any other crime has exhibited.

whirled about; his body was privily fenced; his hand was ever on his dagger; his countenance and manner like one always ready to strike again. He took ill rest at nights, and lay long waking and musing. Sore wearied with care and watch, he rather slumbered than slept. Troubled with fearful dreams, sometimes he suddenly startled up, leaped out of his bed, and ran about the chamber. So was his restless heart continually tossed and tumbled, with the tedious impression and stormy remembrance of his abominable deed<sup>8</sup>."

These perturbations seem to have agitated his mind while he was at Exeter. On his arrival in that city, the corporation presented him with a purse of 200 nobles. He received it graciously. Going out to survey the place, when he came to the castle, on hearing its name, some melancholy feelings, mingled with superstitious fancies, came over him. The castle was called Rougemont; and as it was pronounced, it brought to his recollection an idle prediction which had reached him, that he would be near his end whenever he came to Richmond. He allowed himself to be so shaken by the verbal similarity, as to exclaim, "I see my days will not be

<sup>8</sup> More, p. 251. Richard is an instance of the existence and agency of that interior monitor, of which Juvenal so justly says,

'Cur tamen hos tu

Evasisse putes, quos, diri consciafacti,

Mens habet attonitos, et surdo verbere cædit,

Occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum.'

Sal. 13, v. 192—6.

'But why must those be thought to 'scape, who feel  
Those rods of scorpions, and those whips of steel,  
Which conscience shakes, when she with rage controls,  
And spreads alarming terror thro' their souls.'—Dryd.

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
RICH. III.  
1483.

long<sup>9</sup>." His spirits must have been greatly depressed, to have been thus agitated by a simple sound. But from the visible indisposition of the gentry of Devon, he perceived that he had turned the hearts of the respectable classes against him. This may have dismayed him at this juncture; and it became his fortune to learn, that pomp and power, without attachment, are but shifting dreams of parade and alarm. Few miseries exceed those of an unpopular throne.

Having dispersed his enemies, he dismissed with great rewards his northern friends; and gradually disbanding his army, returned to London in December<sup>10</sup>, and was received with cheering acclamations.

His re-  
pentance.

At this period, he was externally surrounded with all that constitutes human glory. The wondering populace thought him fully blessed<sup>11</sup>. Comines remarks, that he was reigning in greater splendor and authority than any king of England for the last hundred years<sup>12</sup>; and he celebrated the Christmas festivity with profuse magnificence. Yet still the unseen worm of care tormented him. His busy spies

<sup>9</sup> In those days, when astrology was so much in vogue, predictions of individual destiny abounded. Edward IV. was frequently troubled by the ominous prophecies of one Hogan. 2 Fenn. 138, and v. 5. On an official record, a man is styled 'a nigromancer,' as his profession. 'Thomas Vandyke, late of Cambridge, nigromancer.' Rolls Parl. 6, p. 273.

<sup>10</sup> Croyl. 570. He was at Winchester on the 26th of November; (Harl. MSS. p. 127.) and reached London by the 1st of December, on which day he signed there a grant to the earl of Northumberland (who betrayed him), of the great estate of lord Pownes, who had fled to Richmond. Ib. p. 124.

<sup>11</sup> Vulgi admiratione beatus dicebatur. Pol. Virg. 548.

<sup>12</sup> Comin. 1, p. 514.



brought him censorious remarks from those whom he dared not punish, and his spirit sank into sorrow and solicitude. He found his name becoming used as a taunt of disgrace by many<sup>13</sup>. The unfavorable incidents of nature or life, were imputed to him as the maledictions of heaven upon his reign; and he foresaw that his memory would be branded with infamy, for an action which he could neither obliterate nor recal. He repented of his criminal policy, and resolved to appease his internal anguish, and to restore his blemished character, by changing all that was wrong in his conduct, and by leading the life of a good man and of a deserving king. He strove to be just, mild, popular and generous, especially in his charities to the needy; and he endeavored to reconcile himself to God and man. He began many useful public works. He founded at York a college for one hundred priests, which was then deemed one of the highest acts of human piety; and he listened with attention to the wise councils of his friends. But the historian who records this change, expresses his belief, that fear, not probity, thus improved him; and intimates, that it neither lessened, nor averted the calamities that were doomed to fall upon him<sup>14</sup>.

The violent seizure of the crown, and the destruction of Rivers, Hastings, and Buckingham, had not removed the difficulties by which Richard, from the first, had been surrounded. The leaders were gone,

<sup>13</sup> On the 11th of April 1484, he wrote to the magistrates of York, complaining of 'the number of lies and contumelious speeches which were then spread abroad against him. Drake's Ebor. p. 119.

<sup>14</sup> We owe this account to Polydore Virgil. p. 548. The warrant for establishing the priests, is in the Harl. MSS. N<sup>o</sup> 433, p. 72.

## BOOK

I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

1483.

Prepara-  
tions  
against  
invasion.  
1484.

but the parties and the party-interests remained. His elevation combined them against him, but did not annihilate them. Hence, he still found himself on a tempestuous sea, which violence irritated, but could not calm. Yet, whatever policy could devise, he was active to execute. A fleet was ordered out under Sir Thomas Wentworth, to watch the movement from Bretagne<sup>15</sup>; and in January, a parliament assembled, which passed an act recapitulating his title and the former petition, and settling the crown upon himself, and his issue<sup>16</sup>; and a subsidy was

<sup>15</sup> See the commissions of the 18th and 20th of December 1483, in Harl. MS. p. 135. The cinque ports were also authorized to man out small ships to meet the Breton fleets. Ib. MS.

<sup>16</sup> Parl. Rolls, v. 6, p. 240. The bishop of Lincoln, as chancellor, opened this parliament with a speech, which, by its abstract on the rolls, appears to me to be the same which is preserved in the MSS. in the British Museum, Vitell. E. 10, p. 71; and in another copy, with some variations, in 139. It was spoken before Richard. 'The head is our sovereign lord the king, *here present*.' Its great object is, to exhort the peers to unity and peace. 'Lords and noblemen! ye that have great substance to lose or save; in whose sure and concord demeaning rests the weal of all the commons: open your eyes! send out your faithful ears, and hear true and unfeigned reports.' After reminding them of the many noble persons who had perished from bad counsel, he adds, 'The most proper means to keep the great estates of the public body in their wealth and prosperity, is, for every one to hearken to others; so that, neither for supplantation, dissimulation, nor envy, the due proportion and harmony of this body be disturbed. By concord, as Sallust saith, small things grow to great; by discord, full great things fall to ruin and desolation: the cause why lords and noblemen ought to be more persuaded to accord, and each amicably to hearken.

'Wherefore it is not to doubt, but that the rule and governale of the realm appeareth then in most temperance and moderation, when the king's commissioners be obeyed at large, in every part of the land; so that his highness, and his noble council, be not letted where the king listeth best to be, to intend the politic establishing of the realm.

granted for safe keeping of the sea. In the same month, he issued commissions to all parts of the country, that all persons between sixteen and sixty, should take an oath of allegiance to him<sup>17</sup>. He had gunpowder and ammunition prepared<sup>18</sup>. He purchased Spanish ships to add to his navy in the

‘ Give, then, your attendance, ye people that stand far off, to the lords and noblemen which be in authority. They come from the well-head.

‘ I speak not to you, that now represent the whole, but to them that ye come from, whom, for their great and confused number and multitude, nature cannot well suffice to assemble in a place apt to the making of a law.’

He reminds them of the fable of the belly and its members; and asks, ‘ What is the belly, but the great public body of England? If, then, ye be single, and not turned to doubleness, all the body shall be fair and bright. And if the contrary; if, then ye be wicked, the body shall be dark.’ Another passage shows the anxiety of Richard, and his desire of intimidating others by Buckingham’s fall. ‘ This womb of busy thought, care, and pensiveness, is waxed full great in the days that we be in, not only by the sudden departing of our old new-reconciled enemies from such treaties, oaths, and promises, as they made to this land; but also by marvellous abusions within, of such as ought to have remained the king’s true and faithful subjects. It is too heavy to think and see what care and dangers by some one person, lately a right and great member of this body, many other noble members of the same, have been brought to. The example of his fall, and righteous punishment, should not be forgotten. Whoso taketh upon him, being a member under the head, with that to which his office and fidelity appertaineth not; setting the people into rebellion or commotion against the prince, be never so great or noble in his estate, he is, as it were, a rotten member of the body.’ MSS. Vit. E. 10. p. 141.

<sup>17</sup> Harl. MSS. p. 141, 2. See the oath from one of the peers.

Ib. p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> ‘ There is an order to take ‘ all manner of stuff that shall be necessary, to enable John Bramburgh, a *stranger*, to make for us, certain great stuff of gunpowder,’ dated 28 Jan. in Harl. MSS. p. 145.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

1484.

Channel<sup>19</sup>; and extended its activity to resist French and Scots, as well as Bretons<sup>20</sup>. He bought and collected new artillery<sup>21</sup>; and vigorous directions were afterwards given to press soldiers, mariners, artificers, laborers, horses, waggons, and other things necessary for the king's use<sup>22</sup>. The earl of Richmond was attainted<sup>23</sup>, and also his mother the countess; though with some delicacies towards her husband, lord Stanley<sup>24</sup>. The author of a contemporary pasquinade was executed<sup>25</sup>. An unfavorably predicting astronomer was sent to the Tower<sup>26</sup>; and

<sup>19</sup> Harl MSS. 146.

<sup>20</sup> *Ib.* p. 151.

<sup>21</sup> There is a warrant to pay 24*l.* for buying 20 new guns, and 2 serpentines; and an order to the constable of the Tower, to deliver out 8 serpentynes upon carts; 28 hacbusses, with their frames; 1 barrel of touch-powder; 2 barrels of serpentyne powder; 200 bows; 400 sheafs of arrows; 10 gross of bow-strings; and 200 bills. Harl. MSS. p. 163 and 157. Another order commanded the delivery of 2 serpentynes; 2 guns to lie on walls; 12 hacbusses: 10 cross-bows of steel; 60 long bows; 100 sheafs of arrows, and 2 barrels of gunpowder. *Ib.* p. 178.

<sup>22</sup> Harl. MSS. p. 168, 178, 183, 195. The first commission, an early specimen of pressing, is to 'take mariners in the king's name, for the furnishing the ships, called the Andrew; the Michael; the Bastion; and the Tyre; to do service of war upon the sea, in the north part.'

<sup>23</sup> Parl. Rolls, 6. p. 244—6. Hall, 397.

<sup>24</sup> She was disabled from inheriting any lands or tenements; and all her castles, manors and lands were declared forfeited to the crown; but a life-interest in them was given to lord Stanley, with the reversion to the king. *Ib.* 250, 1; and see Hall, 398.

<sup>25</sup> This was Collingbourne, who is stated to have committed other treasons, had held some office in Wiltshire, important enough for a lord to hold after him. See Harl. MSS. N° 433. p. 2.

<sup>26</sup> This was Lewis Kaerlion, on 16th March 1484. In his table of the eclipses of the sun and moon he thus records the fact; 'Having lost the tables of those which I had made, by the pillage



such numerous proscriptions were made of other opposing men of rank and fortune, who would not submit to his government; that the monastic chronicler, the most impartial of those who mention him, compares them to the severities of the Roman triumvirate<sup>27</sup>. He distributed the rich forfeitures, which resulted from these attainders and condemnations, among his northern adherents, on whom he placed, perhaps, too manifestly, his greatest reliance; and he planted these supporters in every part of his dominions, to the continual annoyance and discontent of the people, among whom they resided. The presence, insults, and tyranny of these intruded masters, too sensible of their own importance, not to presume on impunity, increased the public desire for the return of their former and now exiled lords<sup>28</sup>. Thus the measures, which the king adopted for his security, turned, from the averting mind which they created, to his bane. Augmented dissatisfaction

of king Richard, I being imprisoned in the Tower of London, prepared other tables of eclipses, &c. which differ in a few things from those composed by me in 1482.' Tanner, Bib. Mon. p. 449.

<sup>27</sup> Croyland, 570. The king was not in the metropolis from the 6th of March 1484, to August 9th; on March 11th he was at Cambridge; from the 20th of March to the 25th of April, at Nottingham; on May the 1st, at York; on the 6th, at Middleham; on the 15th, at Durham; on the 22d, at Scarborough; on the 27th, at York; from the 30th to the 13th of June, at Pomfret; from the 14th to the 25th of June, at York; from the 30th to the 11th of July, at Scarborough; on the 20th and 21st, again at York; on the 23d, at Pomfret; on the 30th, at Nottingham; and on August the 9th and 10th, at Westminster; but the rest of the summer and autumn, he passed at Nottingham, with a short excursion to Tutbury; and on November the 12th, returned to Westminster. Harl. MSS. 165, 195.

<sup>28</sup> Croyl. 570.



BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
RICH. III.  
1484.

increased his jealousy and sternness; and every punishment he inflicted, however merited by actual treason, raised the clamor of tyranny against him. It was thought, that he became extreme to mark what was done amiss. He may have been so, without intending it. Power in the hands of the irritable and the unquiet, is apt to be cruel, especially when goaded by danger; and Richard is loudly charged with being so. But the candid will observe, that it was towards those who revolted against him, that he is accused of displaying this temper. They chose to make it a battle of life or death with him; and he fought it as such. No benefits or overtures could allay their resentments: and as they were implacable, so he was unforgiving<sup>29</sup>.

The  
queen's  
daughters  
at his  
court.

The project of uniting Richmond with one of the queen's daughters, he attempted by an altered behaviour to her to defeat. Whether he pitied her for the incurable wound he had inflicted, or obeyed merely the dictates of an interested policy; he en-

<sup>29</sup> Thus he attainted sir George Brown, sir Thomas Lewkner, sir John Gildford, and sir John Fogg; 13 esquires; 4 gentlemen, and other persons; but it was because they assembled a great multitude, arrayed in war, against him. So he attainted sir William Berkeley, sir Roger Tocot, Lord Sentmort, sir Richard Woodville, two other knights, 100 esquires, and others; but they had assembled in arms against him, at Newbury, in Berks. He also attainted sir John Cheney, and 3 other knights; several esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen; but they had made a military insurrection at Salisbury; as sir Robert Willoughby, sir Thomas Arundel, six esquires, and several gentlemen, with marquis Dorset, and sir Thomas St. Leger had done at Exeter. As all these were declared traitors, their lands and goods were confiscated; and an act was passed, enabling him to grant their lands to others. Parl. Rolls, 6, p. 246, 9. All these voluntarily dared the deadly chance, and aimed at his life and crown.

deavored to win her confidence, by his favors and kindnesses. He sent various friends to her, to conciliate her confidence. They performed their difficult task with zeal; and they persuaded her to forget all her wrongs, and to entrust her five daughters to the care of him and his queen, to form a part of his court, and to be educated under his care. The dowager queen has been violently censured for this acquiescence. It was certainly breaking her engagements with Richmond's friends; but at this moment his cause seemed hopeless; and she may have thought, that she had only to choose between immuring five young ladies, the eldest but seventeen, for life in a sanctuary; or permitting them to receive that princely education, which her maternal affection desired. As no friend has explained her motives, she has found no advocate: but has been held up as an instance of female versatility and weakness. Her conduct may be so considered; but it is also possible, that the entreaties, as well as the benefit of her own children, may have persuaded her to a reconciliation with the king. Whoever has to decide and act, amid contradicting feelings and duties, must seem to act objectionably, whichever course may be adopted.

Richard, before the peers of the realm and the city magistrates, bound himself by a solemn oath, to protect, maintain, advance, and marry them<sup>30</sup>;

<sup>30</sup> The Harleian MS. has preserved this oath. 'I, Richard, king of England, &c. in the presence of you, my lords spiritual and temporal, and you, mayor and aldermen of my city of London, promise and swear (verbo regio) upon these holy Evangelists of God, by me personally touched, that if the daughters of dame Elizabeth Gray, late calling herself queen of England; to wit,

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

1484.

and they had no reason to be dissatisfied with exchanging a cloister for a palace. The king and queen conveyed them to their court, with studied honors; and by familiar and affectionate entertainments, strove to make them forget all former evil<sup>31</sup>. The most criminal intentions in Richard, have been ascribed to this measure; and yet the kindest uncle could not have acted otherwise. There was, indeed, an unworthy jealousy of power, in not calling them princesses in his oath, and in the idea of marrying them as private gentlewomen merely; but a regard for national tranquillity, and still more, for the safety of his son's future succession, probably dictated this conduct, which may have been most favorable to their happiness, and to the country's welfare. Richard prevailed on their royal mother to solicit her son Dorset to concur in the family conciliation.

His son's  
death.

While Richard was thus exerting himself to suppress and disappoint internal conspiracy, and to prevent invasion, he was destined to receive the first Elizabeth, Cecill, Anne, Katteryn, and Brugget, will come unto me out of the sanctuary of Westminster, and be mynded, ruled, and demeaned after me, then I shall see that they shall be in surety of their lives; and also not suffer any manner of hurt, by any manner, person or persons to them or any of them, in their bodies or persons, to be done by way of ravishing or defiling contrary to their wills; nor them, nor any of them, imprison within the Tower of London, or other prison.

‘But that I shall put them in honest place of good name and fame, and them honestly and courteously shall see to be found and entreated: and to have all things requisite and necessary for their exhibition and finding, as my kinswomen.

‘And that I shall do marry such of them as now ben marriable to gentilmen born, and everiche of them give in marriage, lands and tenements to the yearly value of 200 marcs for the term of their lives.’ MS. p. 308.

<sup>31</sup> Grafton, 836. Hall, 407.

great retributive blow from the unseen direction of events, in the loss of his only son. After adding the princesses to his household, he assembled the principal persons of his kingdom, in February 1484, and caused them to swear adherence and fidelity to his son, Edward prince of Wales<sup>32</sup>. Within two months after he had thus secured, as he supposed, the succession to his own line, this prince was attacked with a rapid illness at Middleham castle, which soon ended in his death. Richard and his queen received the tidings at Nottingham, and were both nearly distracted with the intelligence<sup>33</sup>. His unsparing ambition was thus frustrated in its fondest hope. His parental feelings were pure and kind; and his sufferings were proportionately acute.

But the growing dangers of his situation roused him from his grief. He discovered, that Morton and the exiled nobility were not only in alliance with Richmond, but were in active correspondence with the chief persons in England. He spread every where his inquiring spies, both at home and abroad. He adopted an invention of Edward IV. of stationing horsemen on the roads, at every twenty miles, who should transmit to each other the letters that were to be forwarded; by which plan all news travelled 200 miles in two days<sup>34</sup>. His navy was

<sup>32</sup> Croyl. 570.

<sup>33</sup> 'Pene insanire,' Croyl. 571. The prince died 9th April 1484. By the grants in the Harl. MS. the king appears to have been at Nottingham, from 20th March to 25th April in this year. On 1st May he went to York, and on the 6th to Middleham, where his child had expired. MS. ib. 166—173.

<sup>34</sup> Croyl. 571.

BOOK  
I.REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

1484.

Rich-  
mond's  
operations.

alert: successful against the Scots; but suffering some losses from the French <sup>35</sup>.

On arriving at Angiers, the earl of Richmond found the French king's permission to reside in France; and went in person to Charles, at Langes on the Loire, to explain the reason of his sudden escape, and to solicit his aid against Richard. Charles VIII. received him kindly, and took him to Montargis, with his friends, and afterwards to Paris, which then became the resort of all those who chose to embark in his meditated enterprize. His flight from Vannes had stopped all his preparations from Bretagne. The duke, recovering his recollection, disapproved of what his minister had done; and assisted the gentlemen who had been left behind, with money, to join their prince <sup>36</sup>. But he gave no further countenance to Henry; and concluded a truce with Richard's envoys <sup>37</sup>, which was afterwards prolonged <sup>38</sup>, and converted into such a friendly alliance, that Richard sent 1,000 archers to assist him against France <sup>39</sup>. Charles VIII. flattered Richmond

<sup>35</sup> Croyl. 571. He bought ships from Spain in January, to make war on Bretagne; and in February ordered fleets to be victualled against France, Bretagne, and Scotland. Harl. MS. 146—151. In March he issued fresh warrants to impress mariners, *ib.* 168. which, in June, were sent to all mayors, &c. p. 180. The French took some of his ships off Scarborough, with two 'ferocissimis capitaneis.' *ib.* one of them the person who had commanded the fortifications at Westminster Abbey; John Nessfield.

<sup>36</sup> Graft. 834. Pol. V. 556. Hall, 405.

<sup>37</sup> 12 Rym. 226. The first truce was from 1 July 1484 to 24 April 1485.

<sup>38</sup> 12 Rym. 255. The Harl. MS. has a license for Thomas Hoton, to go with twelve persons to Bretagne, on the king's message, dated 23 October 1484. p. 192.

<sup>39</sup> The commission to John Gray, to command there, was dated



with promises of succors, but delayed providing them. Yet his countenance gave new courage to the exiled revolvers, and induced others to join their party. Among these were sir James Blunt, the governor of Hammes, and sir John Fortescue, one of the officers of Calais. Blunt released his prisoner, the earl of Oxford, who immediately went to Richmond. No circumstance more pleased or benefited Henry, than the presence of this nobleman. He was the highest rank that had yet openly allied with him. His reputation was great and unsullied. His abilities and experience in war, were important to the wise direction of his intended expedition. Above all, he found him to be one in whom, above all others, he might securely place his most secret trust<sup>40</sup>. Thus supported, the day of his good fortune began to dawn with a serene brightness, that gradually made the ardor of his hope the just confidence of reason.

Richard, finding his intercepting plans defeated by his rival's flight into France, endeavored to make the present solicitations to Charles, the evidence of an anti-national spirit. He published a proclamation against Richmond and his adherents, charging his grandfather, Owen Tudor, with illegitimacy; and accusing him of having covenanted with the king of France, to abandon all claims of England to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Gascony, Guienne, Calais, Guynes, and the Marches; and arraigining him for giving away already archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other clerical dignities, and also dukedoms, earl-

28 June 1484. 12 Rym. Fœd. 226, 7. On 7 March following, the truce was prolonged to Michaelmas 1492. ib. 261.

<sup>40</sup> Graft. 834. Hall, 405.

BOOK  
I.REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

1484.

doms, and baronies <sup>41</sup>. Richmond, with great spirit, retorted by an energetic letter to all his friends and allies; in which he announced his intention of de-throning the king, whom he calls an homicide, and unnatural tyrant <sup>42</sup>. Increasing resentment was now extinguishing all the former parties that had shaken the country, and dividing it into two new ones, the opposers, and the supporters of the king; and Richmond becoming identified with the former, the future struggles assumed a personal character; and the only question that was fought for at last, was, whether Richard or Henry should be seated on the English throne. Every month additional numbers of the nobility and gentry showed their desire to place a new dynasty upon it.

<sup>41</sup> Fenn has printed this proclamation, V. 2. p. 321, 3. It is dated 23 June 1484.

<sup>42</sup> It was this.—H. R.—Right trusty, worshipful, and honorable good friends, and our allies;

‘I greet ye well. Being given to understand your good devoirs, and intent to advance me to the furtherance of my rightful claim due, and lineal inheritance of the crown, and for the just depriving of that homicide and unnatural tyrant, which now unjustly bears dominion over you, I give you to understand, that no christian heart can be more full of joy and gladness than the heart of me, your poor exiled friend; who will, upon the instance of your sune advertizing what power you will make ready, and what captains and leaders you get to conduct, be prepared to pass over the sea, with such force as my friends here are preparing for me; and if I have such good speed and success as I wish, according to your desire, I shall ever be most forward to remember, and wholly to requite this great and most loving kindness in my just quarrel.

‘H. R.’

‘I pray you to give credence to the messenger of what he shall impart to you.’ Harl. MS. N° 787.

This has been printed by Mr. J. Nicholls in his additions to Hutton’s Bosworth Field, p. 190.

To secure his northern frontier from the incursions of Scotland, that he might have his forces undivided to act against Richmond, the king opened a negotiation with the Scottish monarch; and proposed a marriage between that king's son and his own niece. James was in need of friends, as well as himself, and sent his ambassadors to Nottingham. The prelate of the north made the flattering speech to Richard, already noticed <sup>43</sup>; and a treaty of friendship and alliance having ensured safety to the border provinces <sup>44</sup>, the king returned to the metropolis in November <sup>45</sup>, which, excepting a short time in August, he had not visited since the preceding winter <sup>46</sup>. In the next month, he sent his mandate to the mayor of Windsor, complaining, that his rebels and traitors were confederated with his antient enemies of France; and were sending over writings with false inventions, tidings, and rumors, to provoke discord and division between him and his lords; and commanding him to inquire after the utterers of such papers; to commit them to sure ward, and to proceed to their sharp punishment as an example to deter others <sup>47</sup>. Some days afterwards, he ordered the commissioners he had sent into the counties near the metropolis, to call before them, in all haste, the knights, squires, and gentlemen; to understand from them what number of men, defensibly arrayed, they could bring

<sup>43</sup> See vol. 3. Bucke has inserted it in his history. 1 Kennet, p. 572. The Scotch commission to treat on the marriage is dated 30 August, at Edinburgh. 12 Rym. 232.

<sup>44</sup> Graft. 830. See the articles agreed on, in Hall, 398—400.

<sup>45</sup> Croyl. 571.

<sup>46</sup> See before, note 27.

<sup>47</sup> It is dated 6 Dec. 1484. Harl. MSS. N<sup>o</sup> 787, p. 2; and Nicholl's Hutton, p. 191.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

1484.

together, on half-a-day's notice, in case of any sudden arrival of his enemies<sup>48</sup>. Thus no precaution, which enlightened prudence could suggest, was omitted by this active-minded king.

He kept his Christmas at Westminster, with his accustomed display of state; and appeared on the Epiphany with the crown on his head at a royal banquet; but it was remarked, that the princess Elizabeth was dressed in splendid robes of the same form and color with his queen's; and inferences began to be made, that he meditated his consort's death or divorce<sup>49</sup>. What he had done, created the worst opinions of what he meant to do. Selfish ambition, without either moral or religious principle, being believed to be the guide of his conduct, no crime seemed unlikely, no imputation unjust.

In the midst of his splendid entertainment, tidings were suddenly brought to him, that Richmond would certainly invade him in the following summer. His natural intrepidity and love of decision, occasioned him to receive the news with delight<sup>50</sup>, that the deciding battle might speedily occur: so little can we penetrate the mysterious future.

Death of  
queen  
Anne.

As his last winter passed on, his queen Anne became unwell. He is admitted to have been at this time acting the part of a good and well-disposed king<sup>51</sup>; and to have been afraid lest her sudden death should lessen the creditable opinion that was

<sup>48</sup> Harl. MSS. N° 433, p. 198. This letter was dated 18 December, and sent to Surrey, Middlesex, Hertford, &c.

<sup>49</sup> Croyl. 571. <sup>50</sup> Ib.

<sup>51</sup> Or, as the hostile chroniclers express it, he had begun 'to counterfeit the ymage of a good and well-disposed person.' Graft. 836. Hall, 407.

forming of him. Yet he is charged with proceeding to kill her, by abstaining from her society ; by complaining to his nobles, and especially to archbishop Rotheram, of her sterility : and by spreading a rumor, meant to reach her ears, that she was actually dead <sup>52</sup>. This mode of killing her is not very probable ; and is refuted by the inconsistent addition, that when she went sorrowingly to him, to ask why she was to die, he answered her with fair words, and dissembing blandishments ; kissed her, and comforted her, and bid her be of good cheer <sup>53</sup>. This soothing kindness was the true behavior of an affectionate husband ; and was the reverse of that which he would have exhibited, if he had meant to injure her by his asserted alienation. The two parts of the story do not coincide ; and therefore, when these writers offer us the consequential alternative, that “ either from grief, or poison, she died in a few days <sup>54</sup>, ” we may be allowed to decline the proposed dilemma altogether ; and to suppose that nature or providence had withdrawn her, like her son, into the grave, and with no friendly hand to Richard ; for as her death ensured the public belief, that it was either another penal judgment, or another murder, no event could be more calamitous to him than to lose her, with the certainty of such destroying imputations.

There is a correctness in all the accounts of the Croyland doctor, when they can be compared with the records, and other manuscript authorities <sup>55</sup>, that

<sup>52</sup> Hall, 407.

<sup>53</sup> Ib. ‘Osculando,’ adds Pol. Virg. 557. <sup>54</sup> Ib.

<sup>55</sup> He ends his valuable history by saying, that he finished it on 30 April 1486. p. 578. He did not continue it further, because



## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

1484.

induces us to take his representation as the unprejudiced truth. He remarks, that “ the similarity of the dresses of queen Anne and Elizabeth, in the Christmas festivities, created great surprize; and that it was said by many, that the king, either expecting the queen’s death, or meditating a divorce, for which he thought he had sufficient reasons, was applying his mind to a marriage with the princess.” He adds, that it did not seem to Richard, that his kingdom would be confirmed to him, or the hope of his competitor taken away, by any other measure<sup>56</sup>.

1485.

He proceeds, “ A few days after this, the queen began to be exceedingly ill. Her sickness was thought to increase more rapidly, because he entirely abstained from her connubial society; and thus, as he was advised by the physicians, he judged he ought to do<sup>57</sup>. Why should I add more? About the middle of the following March, on the day of the great eclipse of the sun, which then occurred, queen

that would concern the actions of living persons, and would expose the historian either to hatred, if he described their vices, or to the crime of flattery, if he blazoned their virtues. *Ib.* 577. I understand him to say, that he wrote his little work in ten days. 578.

<sup>56</sup> Croyl. 572. The instances of Henry VIII., Napoleon, and other sovereigns, divorcing their wives, because they wished an heir to their thrones, prove, that Richard might have had that desire, although improper, without being a flagitious character. That there was some informality about his marriage, which made a divorce attainable, is probable, because the act of parliament that settled her inheritance, in 1474, contemplated a divorce as a possible occurrence. See before, p. 379.

<sup>57</sup> So I construe the doctor’s awkward Latin sentence, ‘Itaque a medicis sibi consultum, ut faceret, judicavit.’ p. 572. If my construction be right, his avoidance of her society was in obedience to the injunction of her medical attendants.

Anne died ; and was buried at Westminster, with no less honor than became a queen<sup>58</sup>.”

CHAP.  
I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

Here is no charge of poison or cruelty ; nor can an illness, beginning a few days after twelfth day, and lasting till the middle of March, above two months, be fairly attributable to poison, unless no one becomes ill in winter without it. His secession from her is not ascribed to wicked design, but to medical advice. His projecting an union with another lady, before her death, though an act neither decorous nor consistent with true affection, nor morally vindicable from the consequences to which it may lead, is an action which has been done, and a subsequent marriage completed, shortly after the wife's death, in violation of the feelings, which society rightly chooses to exact and to make sacred, by many persons of great general respectability, without their being deemed murderers or tyrants. But Richard has not been allowed to do any thing in common with the rest of mankind, without the ascription of some horrible motive. His mind has been supposed to have been in an universal and continual moral leprosy.

But another person has been implicated in this event, to her disadvantage. Bucke declares, that there was an autograph letter from the princess Elizabeth to the duke of Norfolk, in the cabinet of Thomas earl of Arundel and Surrey, in which she tells his grace, that he was the man in whom she affied, in respect of that love her father had ever bore him. After congratulating, as Bucke terms it, his many courtesies, she desires him, in continuation

<sup>58</sup> Croyl. 572. It is elsewhere stated, that she died 11 March 1485.

of them, to be a mediator for her to the king, in behalf of the marriage propounded between them. She adds, that he, the king, was her only joy and maker in this world, and that she was his in heart and thought; and she insinuates, that the better part of February was past, and that she feared the queen would never die<sup>59</sup>.

As it would be absurd to reason against a genuine autograph, it need only be added, that to apply to the duke of Norfolk, to be a mediator with the king, to urge her marriage to him, looks as if it had been proposed by others, not by himself, and that he was pausing and doubting about it. To exculpate the princess is impossible, unless the letter be a forgery; but it will be equitable to her to remember, that she was but nineteen years old<sup>60</sup>. If it were genuine, the impatient forwardness of the lady made Richard in greater danger of being the seduced, than the seducer.

The supposition of such a marriage becoming public, a general murmur arose against it, which the king's most faithful counsellors thought it unwise to brave. Ratcliffe and Catesby firmly resisted the project; and told Richard, that if he did not unhesitatingly contradict it, even his northern friends would rebel against him. No one could endure an incestuous marriage between an uncle and his niece.

<sup>59</sup> Bucke says, 'All these be her own words, written with her own hand, and this is the sum of her letter, which remains, under her own hand, in the magnificent cabinet of Thomas earl of Arundel and Surrey.' p. 568. But he has given the substance, not a copy, of the letter; and this omission, in such an important document, is a matter of great mistrust.

<sup>60</sup> She was born the 11th of February 1465. (Graft. 668.

Twelve doctors in theology also gave their opinion, that the pope could not legalize it by any dispensation. The world would not give his ministers the credit of disinterested probity on this occasion. Their reasoning and feelings were just; but it was believed that their real motive was, a fear that Elizabeth might gain the king's affection, and govern his mind, and then revenge the death of her own uncle, lord Rivers, on those who had recommended it. Richard listened to their counsels; and a little before Easter, in the great hall of St. John's Priory, Clerkenwell, before the mayor and corporation of London, in a clear and loud voice, solemnly disavowed the imputed intention<sup>61</sup>.

The death of the queen greatly diminished Richard's interest in the hearts of the country; and as the will obeys the feeling, the loss of moral influence is the loss of actual power. The abandonment and denial of his intended marriage with Elizabeth, did not avert the disgust at its believed conception. It was assumed that he had meant it; and that fear of the consequences alone prevented him from adding a moral sin to his great suspected crime. Hence, he began the fatal year of 1485 with a diminution of his own safety, by the very measures which human calculation had supposed would most firmly consolidate it. Such will be the issue of all policy, that is not founded on moral rectitude. Richard too

<sup>61</sup> Croyl. 572. He adds, that 'many thought he obeyed the wishes of his advisers rather than his own.' Richard shows the consequences of once getting a bad character. Few would afterwards give him credit for any right action. This hostile propensity of mankind has driven many to utter wickedness and ruin. Though every one feels his own spots to be removeable, no one will believe another's to be so.



easily confounded the gaining of a present point, with its permanent advantage; and did not see, that the success we exult in is often the benefit which leads to our discomfiture.

Yet, although there was much that menaced, still no tangible danger was near. A military force moved everywhere promptly at his command, which promised to make Richmond's invasion an absurdity. No enemy was anywhere in force. All rebellion was overawed, the discontented driven away, and silent obedience pervaded the island. Individual noblemen and gentlemen frequently passed over to Henry<sup>62</sup>; but their absence from England lessened the chances of internal revolt; and the speedy recovery of Hammes, which its governor, on releasing Oxford, had surrendered to Richmond's friends, elated the king's mind, as an omen of his final triumph<sup>63</sup>. This exultation was completed, when he heard that Charles VIII. meant to give his threatening invaders but a slender assistance. He procured certain intelligence that they meant to attempt a landing; but could not learn that any part was fixed on. To guard every point, he went himself about Whitsuntide, into the northern counties<sup>64</sup>; and more completely to baffle their projects, and to keep the minds

<sup>62</sup> Fab. 518. Hall, 407. One of these, who joined Richmond, was Fox, a priest of great understanding and learning, whom the prince immediately attached to his secret councils, and made him afterwards bishop of Winchester. Graft. 835.

<sup>63</sup> Hall, 408.

<sup>64</sup> Croyl. 573. From the Harl. MSS. N<sup>o</sup> 433, it appears, that excepting three short residences at Windsor, he continued in London and Westminster from the beginning of the year 1485 to the middle of May. On June the 1st, he was at Coventry; on the 6th, at Kenilworth; and, on the 22d, at Nottingham. p. 200—219.



of the country from any uncertainty as to the succession, he had the earl of Lincoln, his most beloved sister's son, declared to be his heir apparent <sup>65</sup>.

It was no loss to society that Buckingham failed and fell. He was not the man to regenerate the nobility of England, or to plant moral principles on its throne. Yet, although he perished, neither lamented nor unmeritingly, it was he that wove the plans and made the cords, which pulled down Richard from his state. His death left them broken and scattered; but in his few weeks of activity he had so ably organized his confederations, created so much mutual confidence, and established such an unity of heart and hand, that as soon as a superior character, and a more principled mind, appeared, to re-assume their direction, all their spirit revived, and their combinations were renewed; and Richmond, with the aid of his mother, Morton and Stanley, was enabled at last to execute what Buckingham, with such a master-intellect, had sketched.

Yielding to his mother's representations of Richard's altered conduct towards her family, the marquis of Dorset endeavoured to escape from his co-exiles at Paris, and to join her family in the English court. He left the French capital secretly at night, and travelled with great expedition toward Flanders; but his departure became known to Richmond, who obtained the French king's authority to arrest him. He was overtaken at Compeigne, and carried back to Paris <sup>66</sup>.

The information that Richard intended to marry Elizabeth, made Henry despair of uniting himself

<sup>65</sup> Hollingshed, 747.

<sup>66</sup> Graft. 840. Hall, 409.

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
RICH. III.  
1485.

with the line of York ; and he turned his thoughts to an alliance with one of the powerful Welsh families <sup>67</sup>. But this desertion of Dorset having alarmed him for the stability of his other friends, he decided on attempting his enterprize without delay ; and, therefore, obtaining a small force, and borrowing some money from the French king, for which he left Dorset and sir John Bouchier as hostages, he went to Rouen, collected his friends, and prepared with celerity a little fleet at Harfleur, to sail as soon as it was ready <sup>68</sup>.

One of Richard's wisest actions had been, to have a statute passed, declaring illegal the forced loans called Benevolences <sup>69</sup>, which his brother had, with such great unpopularity, exacted. His expensive state, his lavish liberalities to his friends, his repeated preparations against his enemies, and his wary guarding and fortifying every accessible point of landing, and every place of danger in the interior, had so exhausted the royal treasury and its ordinary supplies, that the king allowed himself to have recourse to the very measure, which he had pleased the country by condemning and abrogating. He revived what he had annulled, and compelled his wealthy subjects to give him the sums for which he arbitrarily taxed them, under the same fictitious name of a Benevolence. This measure struck a fatal blow at what remained of his popularity. The hope and experienced benefit of a good government might have yet preserved him ; but, when his subjects found their property attacked by his despotic will, a spirit of indifference in some, of resentment in others, arose

<sup>67</sup> Graft. 840.

<sup>68</sup> Graft. 840.

<sup>69</sup> Stat. of Realm, 2, p. 478.

against him, which paralyzed those exertions in his favor, when the last great crisis came upon him<sup>70</sup>. CHAP.  
I.

The rumors, that Henry's preparations for his invasion were advancing to maturity, increasing every day, Richard tried, in vain, by all his secret agents, to ascertain in what part he meant to land<sup>71</sup>. Baffled by Richmond's secrecy, or inability to select out the safest place, he stationed lord Lovel at Southampton, to watch, with his fleet, all the coasts of the southern counties; and with orders to assemble all the forces in his neighbourhood, and to attack his enemies as soon as they had disembarked. He was so sure that the attempt would be in these parts of England, that a large portion of his resources was expended<sup>72</sup> there, in providing the means of effectual and instantaneous resistance. Having thus, as he believed, averted danger from its most probable and accessible points of entrance, he went west to Kenilworth castle, in the beginning of June; and towards the latter end of the month, stationed himself at Nottingham<sup>73</sup>; a safe and central point, from which he could himself move to any part of the kingdom that should demand his immediate presence. He passed his July in a state

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

<sup>70</sup> The Harl. MSS. N<sup>o</sup> 433, p. 275—8, contains the letters sent by the king, exacting these benevolences, and mentioning the sum which each person, secular or religious, was required to give. On the great unpopularity of these exactions, see the strong language of Croyland, p. 571, 2. Fabian says, the least sum that he borrowed of any one in London, was 40*l*. Yet he adds, that to these he delivered good and sufficient pledges. His want of money appears, from the warrants in the Harl. MSS. for the pledging and sale of his plate, . . .

<sup>71</sup> Croyl. 572.

<sup>72</sup> Ib. 573.

<sup>73</sup> Harl. MSS. N<sup>o</sup> 433, p. 218, 219: From Nottingham, on the 22d of June, he issued letters to the commissioners of array, in every county, to muster his subjects in arms. Ib. p. 220.

of royal enjoyment, without any prospect or dread of the tempest, which, from its imperceptible distance, was on the wing to overwhelm him.

It was one of his severest calamities, and the immediate cause of his destruction, that some of those in whom he most confided and employed, and whom he had most bounteously enriched, treacherously engaged, even while in his service, in the conspiracy against him. One of these was Morgan Kidwelly, his attorney-general<sup>74</sup>. This perfidious law officer, of his confidential council, sent Richmond secret word, that sir Rice ap Thomas, who watched for Richard, with a commanding influence and high character, in Wales, and whose zealous hostility would have frustrated all invasion there, would apply to his assistance the great preparations he was ostensibly making against him; and that sir John Savage, who controlled Cheshire for the king, was equally favorable. He added, that Bray had collected money enough to supply his troops in their movements; and he recommended him to take his course directly into Wales<sup>75</sup>. To this intelligence Henry owed his success, and Richard his downfall. He had been before so undecided himself where to land, that his own uncertainty, in addition to his judicious secrecy, had baffled Richard's inquisitorial penetration. This advice determined the earl to sail immediately to Wales; and, by thus avoiding every part which

<sup>74</sup> His appointment of attorney-general to Richard, is in the Harl. MSS. N° 433, p. 79; and there are several grants to him in it, as the stewardship of all the lordships in the duchies of Lancaster and Dorset. *Ib.* 49. Several manors, p. 63, &c.

<sup>75</sup> Graft. 841. Pol. Virg. 559. Hall, 410. Richard had given Bray a general pardon. Harl. MSS. p. 34.

Richard had sufficiently and sedulously guarded with his most faithful forces, and by entering the island at the quarter where he was least expected, he was enabled to turn all the king's preparations in the rear; and to be in the heart of England, before Richard could gain correct certainty that he had reached it. There must have been traitors in Richard's cabinet, for his rival to have been thus directed to take the fittest measures for success, with such exact precision and unchecked results <sup>76</sup>.

Richmond sailed from Harfleur with a petty force of 2,000 men, in a few vessels; and in seven days, reaching Milford Haven on the 1st of August, he debarked at Dalle, and marched the next dawn to Haverfordwest, where, as the grandson of a descendant of Brutus, Beli, Arthur, and Cadwallader, and as coming to place a dynasty of ancient British ancestry on the throne of England, which had been so long held from it by Saxon and Norman intruders, he was cheeringly received <sup>77</sup>. His landing and march were so secret and rapid, that the inhabitants, till they saw him, did not know that he had arrived <sup>78</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> The taking the great seal from the bishop of Lincoln, on the 1st of August 1485, looks like a suspicion or discovery of some infidelity in him. Rym. 12, p. 271, 2. The billet afterwards thrown on the duke of Norfolk's tent,

‘ Jack of Norfolk, be not too bold,

For Dickon thy master is *bought and sold*,’

explicitly indicated the treason, and warned him to avoid its inevitable consequences. Graft. 850. Savage, Hungerford, and Bouchier, were in the near and confidential stations of knights of his body.

<sup>77</sup> Croyl. 573. Pol. Virg. 560. Graft. 841.

<sup>78</sup> Graft. ib. He received assurances of service from Pembroke;



BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
RICH. III.  
1485.

At first, he was disappointed to hear, that both Rice ap Thomas and Savage meant to attack him. He marched immediately northward to Cardigan. Fresh tidings occurred there to dismay him, that sir Walter Herbert, on whose friendship he had calculated, was collecting a force at Carmarthen to arrest his progress. These accounts alarmed his little army; but retreat was impossible; desperate courage was their only safety; and each man assayed his armor, and sharpened his weapons, to sell their lives dearly. In this state of apprehension, Richmond sent out horsemen to explore; and while they were collecting intelligence, the arrival of two Welsh gentlemen of eminence, though with small numbers, recovered his spirit from the dismay of unsuccored destitution. His men returned with information, that Rice and Herbert were in harness before him, ready to encounter him, and stop his passage<sup>79</sup>.

But it was on the Stanleys, and his English friends, that he mainly relied; and to reach them before Richard's eagle eye, and certain rapidity of movement, the hour his path was known, could intercept him, was his only chance and hope. To effect this, and yet to conceal his line of march, he proceeded, without resting, over the mountain passes, and by the least frequented tracks, and through the mos

yet Richard had confirmed their privileges, and added new grants. Harl. MS. p. 100. Sir William Stanley had been appointed constable, and captain of Carnarvon. Harl. MS. 445.

<sup>79</sup> Graft. 841, 2. Pol. V. 560. Hall, 411. Mr. Pennant mentions a Welsh tradition, that while Henry was at Tremostyn, in Flintshire, about dinner time, a party attached to Richard arrived, with intent to apprehend him; but, with the assistance of the family, he leaped out of a back window, and escaped through a hole, which is still called The King's Hole. Penn. Tour.

unpeopled districts, attacking, without hesitation, and surprizing with ease, all the defended posts that were in his way, direct into Shropshire; sending also off trusty messengers, as he moved, to his mother, lord Stanley, and sir Gilbert Talbot, uncle of earl Shrewsbury, to apprize them of his coming; and intimating the time when he should pass the Severn at Shrewsbury, with the intention of advancing immediately to London<sup>80</sup>. As he approached this town, he was gratified to see the dreaded Rice ap Thomas marching peacefully to join him. He had determined this hesitating Welshman to desert Richard, by promising, two days before, to make him the chief governor of Wales<sup>81</sup>. Thus assured, that he should lose nothing by his change of sides, the prudent sir Rice, whom his Welsh encomiasts transform into an ancient hero, with that easy painting of verbal bombast, which caricatures while it labors to extol<sup>82</sup>, betrayed the trust committed to him by his king; and in violation of his sworn allegiance of his own written promise<sup>83</sup>, “ heading a goodly

<sup>80</sup> Graft. 842. Pol. V. 560. Hall, 411.

<sup>81</sup> Graft. 842. Pol. V. 560. Hall, 411.

<sup>82</sup> The author of his life, written in the early part of James I. is so carried away by his Welsh enthusiasm, that, not content with making a man, scarcely known out of Wales, ‘ more than a Hannibal,’ and both a Marcellus and Fabius, and also a shield of Britain, he exclaims, ‘ Oh! had we, in our late expeditions, flead this great Rice, and clapped his skins upon our drum-head, we had, no question, made an absolute conquest of the French, or rattled them away, or shown ourselves invincible.’ Camb. Register, 1795, p. 52.

<sup>83</sup> His biographer mentions, that Richard ‘ sent commissioners to Carmarthen, to Rice, to take of him an oth of fidelitie. *The oth, Rice ap Thomas stood not upon.*’ Life, p. 86. In his letter to the king, after declaring that he will ‘ faithfullie observe’ his oath, which he says he had taken, he adds, ‘ I deem it not unsea-

company," he marched with his enemy to dethrone him. But gentlemanly perjury was the fashion of the day, in all that concerned loyalty, from the king himself to the poorest fighter that could boast a coat of arms. Richard, however, was outdone, in protestations at least, by his nobility.

Richmond's messengers returned to him from his friends, as he reached Shrewsbury, with the comforting assurances, that they were ready and faithful. He advanced to Newport; and pitching his camp on a little hill adjoining, he resolved to rest there from his fatigues that night; which was made more pleasant to him, by Talbot joining him with the whole power of the young earl of Shrewsbury, amounting to 2,000 men. Thus reinforced, the next day he proceeded resolutely to Stafford; and there paused, to determine on his future movements<sup>81</sup>.

That Richard was reposing in a false security, and was taken quite by surprise, by Richmond's secrecy and celerity of march, which seems never to have been excelled, is manifest, by several circum-

sonable to add this voluntary protestation, that whoever, ill-affected to the state, shall dare to land in those parts of Wales where I have employments, against your majestie, must resolve with himself to make his entrance and irruption *over my bellie*.' p. 86. He even adds, 'This is my religion, that no vowe can lay a stronger obligation upon me, in anie manner of performance, *than my conscience*. My conscience binds me to love and serve my king and country: my vowe can doe noe more. Sir! I am resolutelie bent to spin out my days in well-doing: and sure, sir! could I find myself culpable of one single cogitation, repugnant to the allegiance I owe to your majestie, I should think, already, I have lived over long.' Ib. p. 86. What can we say of such men? His friend confesses, that he 'threw the first stone, and opened the gate to Richard's destruction.' p. 81.

<sup>81</sup> Graft. 842. Pol. V. 560. Hall, 411.

stances. It was not till the beginning of August, that his best friend, the duke of Norfolk, was called on for his military forces<sup>85</sup>; and so late as the 16th of August, his steady adherents, at York, sent their serjeant of mace to ask him, if they should send up any aids from that city; and his orders did not reach it till the 19th of August, but three days before the deciding battle; when the gentleman of the mace was directed to march as captain, with 400 men in harness, with all haste possible, to reach him<sup>86</sup>. Richard despised his competitor too much. A youth, who had never marshalled a field, nor seen a battle, was, as a warrior, contemptible in his eyes; and so he is mentioned to have expressed himself concerning him, on the day of conflict<sup>87</sup>. Hence, when at length he heard of Richmond's arrival in England, his fewness of numbers made the king think preparations unnecessary. He knew that his armed officers were sufficient to destroy them<sup>88</sup>. He pro-

<sup>85</sup> The duke writes to a friend, a little before August 15th, 'The king's enemies be on land. The king would have set forth, as upon Monday, (14th August,) but only for our Lady's-day, (Assumption, 15th August;) but, for certain, he goeth forward as upon Tuesday. Meet me at Bury; for I purpose to lie at Bury on Tuesday night. Bring with you such company of tall men as ye may goodly make, *at my cost, besides* that ye have promised the king.' 2 Fenn. p. 334.

<sup>86</sup> See the minutes of the city council, in Drake's Eboracum. p. 120.

<sup>87</sup> According to Grafton, Richard called him 'a man of small courage, and of less experience in martial art, and feats of war; who never saw army, nor was exercised in martial affairs; by reason whereof he neither can nor is able, of his own wit or experience, to guide or rule an hoste.' Graft. 847. So Hall, 415.

<sup>88</sup> 'Disdaining to hear speak of so poor a company, he determined, at first, to take little or no regard to this so small a sparkle.'

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
RICH. III.  
1485.

fessed an exceeding joy, that the day had now come, when he should have an easy triumph, and the comfort of a future peaceful reign<sup>89</sup>; and such would have been the issue, if the battle had rested merely between Richmond and himself, or if his country or his army had proved faithful. But, though he sent out letters of menace in every county of the kingdom, full of his own fierce ardor for the decision; and commanding every one, whose rank and estates made it obligatory on him to follow his sovereign to war, to join him without delay, on the pain of death and confiscation, after his victory should be gained<sup>90</sup>; though he sent to the duke of Norfolk; his son, the earl of Surrey; to the earl of Northumberland, and other noblemen, to muster their tenants and retainers, and come speedily to him; and summoned sir Robert Brackenbury from the Tower, with his military force; and to bring with him the knights whom he suspected<sup>91</sup>;—and although, by these means, he assembled a greater army than England had usually seen about the person of its king<sup>92</sup>, yet it was but a splendid military parade, without either zealous hands or sympathizing hearts. It obeyed awhile from terror, but was prepared to betray. It moved at his command, while the largest portion of its battalions meditated his discomfiture.

Lord Stanley had continued to deceive Richard, with such well-acted hypocrisy, that in the preceding January the king had deputed him, with his son lord Strange, and his brother sir William, to lead all

Graft. 843. So Fabian remarks, that, as he feared Richmond little, he made at first but small provision against him. p. 519.

<sup>89</sup> Croyl. 573.

<sup>90</sup> Ib.

<sup>91</sup> Graft. 843. Hall, 412.

<sup>92</sup> Croyl. 573.



the forces of Cheshire against his invaders, if they should arrive<sup>93</sup>. Though deep in Richmond's enterprise, he retained the confidential honor of lord steward of the king's household<sup>94</sup>, at the hour of the invasion; and thus had the means of communicating the most important information of all Richard's designs, means, friends, and movements, to his rival; and of forming intrigues the most pernicious to his master. A little before Richmond's landing, his prudence led him to desire the king's permission to visit his house and family, from which he had been long absent. Leave was granted, on his sending his eldest son, lord Strange, to attend the court at Nottingham, in his stead. Sir William Stanley was, at that time, the chamberlain of North Wales. Thus Wales, and its bordering counties, were officially obeying the men, who, though appointed over them by the king, were determined to betray him. When Richard heard of Richmond's landing, with a reasonable mistrust of the influence of the earl's mother, the wife of Stanley, he sent for this lord to come to him. Stanley answered, that he was ill of the sweating sickness, then prevailing; but at the same time, his son, lord Strange, endeavored privately to escape from the court. Being taken and questioned, he, like Buckingham, confessed all the plots, as far as he knew them; and astonished the king with the intelligence, that his father and uncle, and sir John Savage, were in league with the invaders. He implored mercy, on the ground, that when his father knew of his detection and danger, he would abandon

<sup>93</sup> Harl. MSS. N<sup>o</sup> 433, p. 201. It is dated 12 January.

<sup>94</sup> Croyl. 573.

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
RICH. III.  
1485.

Richmond, and serve faithfully under the king<sup>95</sup>. The young nobleman over-rated his own importance. His father left him to all the peril of his pusillanimity: and only took the precaution not to join Richmond publicly, till the actual moment of beginning the impending conflict.

The disastrous consequence of Richard's being thus taken by surprise, was, that his most faithful adherents were in other parts guarding the districts which he thought most in danger; and that he was compelled to assemble, with indiscriminating haste, a promiscuous mass of force, whose readiness of attendance masqued their indifferency or their projected treason, and whose numbers elated his vanity and inflated his confidence. He knew his own military talents, and he saw, that the exertions of such an army, under his guidance, must be invincible: and although sir Walter Hungerford, and sir Thomas Bouchier, the knights that accompanied Brackenbury, had, on finding themselves doubted or discovered, left their associates at Stoney Stratford, and gone to Richmond<sup>96</sup>; yet hoping, that all who had remained were attached to him, he did not attempt to read further the secrets of the bosoms of his mailed host, but marched them from Nottingham to Leicester, in the most ostentatious pomp. On Sunday, the 20th of August, with his jewelled crown on his head, seated on a great white steed, surrounded by a chosen guard: his army marshalled to advance, in a marching column of infantry, five and five in

<sup>95</sup> Croyl. 573.

<sup>96</sup> Both these two knights, whom Richard had greatly benefited, and others, left him. Graft. 843. Hall. 412. Pol. V. 561.

a rank; while his cavalry, like expanded wings, ranged and coasted over the country as they moved, he entered Leicester in magnificent state, after sunset, followed by an immense multitude of people<sup>97</sup>.

It was his last day of enjoying, in the sight of his people, the gorgeous state he loved. On Monday, the 21st, he passed from Leicester to the abbey of Mirivall, about eight miles off, and there encamped on Anbeame hill<sup>98</sup>; hoping to suppress his antagonist on the morrow. During this night sir John Savage, who commanded the Chester men, sir Brian Sanforde, and sir Simon Digby, with several others, with a select body of forces, left the royal army, and joined that of Richmond, at Atherstone: an important acquisition, from their military experience, as well as their name<sup>99</sup>.

At Stafford, Richmond had been met by sir William Stanley, and after a long consultation with him, moved to Litchfield, and encamped outside of the town during the night. In the morning he entered it, and was received with acclamations. Lord Stanley had reached the same place, with nearly 5,000 men, but hearing of Richmond's approach, repaired to Atherstone. He made this movement to deceive Richard, and to save his son<sup>100</sup>. From Litchfield, Richmond advanced steadily towards Tamworth. In the march he lingered in the rear with a few horse-

<sup>97</sup> Croyl. 573, 4. Graft. 844.

<sup>98</sup> Croyl. 574. 6 Parl. Rolls, 276. Hollingshed mentions the name of the hill, p. 755. He calls it Anne Beame; but this is not a lady's name. 'An beame' is Saxon for 'one tree;' it was, therefore, One-tree-hill.

<sup>99</sup> Graft. 844. Pol. V. 562. Hall, 413.

<sup>100</sup> Graft. 842, 3. Pol. V. 561. Hall, 412.

men ; musing, with some uneasiness, at lord Stanley's apparent hesitation, as if he doubted what might yet be his last determination<sup>101</sup>. His meditations were so intense, (for as all among whom he came were strange to him, he had nothing but their verbal assurance to rely on for their fidelity) that his army had marched out of his sight and hearing, before he perceived that he was unintentionally left alone. The evening began to obscure the horizon ; he lost the road, and wandered about, without knowing where he was. He reached a small village, in jeopardy of falling in with Richard's light horsemen, that were scouring the country for intelligence. He dared not ask a question, but rested there secretly and silently till day-break<sup>102</sup>.

When the light returned, he discovered the traces of his army, and, by joining them, relieved that uneasiness which had been excited by his unaccountable absence. Then departing for Atherstone, he obtained a secret interview with lord Stanley and his brother, in a little close near, and settled their plans for the next day's battle<sup>103</sup>.

The agitations of anxious mind, or the secret

<sup>101</sup> Hall remarks, that Richmond ' was not a little afraid, because he was in nowise assured of lord Stanley, who, for fear of his son, as yet inclined to neither.' p. 413. So Pol. V. 562. Stanley seems to have kept both parties in an uncertainty as to his ultimate decision ; for the account of the battle in the Harl. MSS. 542, which seems a Stanley statement, in an half poetical form, mentions, that a messenger came to sir William, with the impression, that lord Stanley would fight for Richard, within three hours. ' That would I not,' quod the knight, ' for all the world in Cristentie.' Nicholl has printed this, p. 213.

<sup>102</sup> Graft. 844. Pol. V. 562. Hall, 413.

<sup>103</sup> Ib. Ib. Ib.

agencies of diseased nature, shook the frame of Richard, during the repose he sought in the night before the battle. Figures of black shapes, like demons, arose in his dreams, and moved around him, and would not suffer him to rest. He awoke before daylight, exhausted, terrified, and unmanned. He was ashamed of his perturbations; and fearing lest his attendants should misconstrue the nervous affections of a weak body for unworthy fear, he confessed the disturbing dreams. His chaplain was absent. His morning refreshment, to recruit his strength for the day's task, was not ready. His trembling form, his attenuated, pale, and discolored face, were too perceptible to himself, not to be accounted for to others; and he preferred a disclosure, that must have been reluctant, of his dismaying dream, to the suspicion of unmanly cowardice<sup>104</sup>. He added, that the event of that day would be fatal to England, whatever party conquered. If he were victorious, he avowed a determination to take a deadly revenge on all who supported his adversary; and if Richmond triumphed, he believed he would be as sanguinary<sup>105</sup>. Finding Stanley still kept

<sup>104</sup> I consider the Croyland account, p. 574, to be the most authentic, as it is the earliest, of this scene; and have therefore adopted it. Pol. V. 562, Grafton, p. 845, and Hall, 414, are very similar. Drayton and Shakspeare, with the gratuitous inventions of poets, have turned the black shapes into the ghosts of those whose deaths were popularly ascribed to the king. Pol. Virgil refers these spectral appearances, not to his sleep, but to his conscience, which, he adds, if at no other time, will, at least at the eve of death, represent to us our misdeeds, and give us intimations of their future punishment. The king's agitation of mind may have disturbed his bodily functions; but we need not go further than these, to account for his harrowing dream.

<sup>105</sup> Croyland, 574. What was believed and circulated of



BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
RICH. III.  
1485.

aloof, he ordered his son's head to be taken off. But his people anticipated so much uncertainty as to the event of the battle, that they did not choose to commit themselves to the consequences of such a violence. They delayed its execution till the armies began to move; and then, reminding the king that the battle was beginning, and that he could execute his vengeance the moment he had secured the victory, the young nobleman was saved<sup>106</sup>.

The king's frame and spirits were too much agitated by his nervous emotions, to have that alacrity of mind, and cheerfulness of countenance, which he had always displayed on the morning of a battle<sup>107</sup>. But he exerted his military skill, and ranged his troops for the conflict, so as to ensure a speedy victory. His plan was to intimidate and outfront his enemy; and, therefore, he extended his vanguard to an unusual length. In the centre he placed his archers, like a strong fortified bulwark, under Norfolk and his son<sup>108</sup>. He supported this by a

Richard's vindictive intentions, we may see in the Harl. MSS. N° 542. 'He swore, that from the town of Lancastre to Shrowberye, knyght ne squire, he wold leave none alyve: and he wold deal theyr lands to his knyghts, from the Holyhead to St. David's land.' 'Where are castles and towers high, I shall make parks and plain fields. They shall all repent, that ever he rose against his king.' Nicholl's Hutt. 208. With such exaggerations was this king's memory pursued. B. Andreas ascribes to him similar sentiments. MS. Domit. A. 18.

<sup>106</sup> Croy. 574. Graft. 852.

<sup>107</sup> Pol. V. 562. Graft. 845.

<sup>108</sup> Pol. V. 562. Graft. 845, 6. Hall, 414. The 'instar munitissimi valli' of Polydore: and the like, 'a strong fortified trench or bulwark' of Grafton, into which Richard is stated to have formed what may be called his artillery, are what the following passage, in the Harl. MSS. N° 542, alludes to: 'Richard had

select body, in a dense square, commanded by himself, with his diadem on his head, with wings of cavalry on each side of his battle<sup>109</sup>.

Richmond had pitched his army very near his enemy's camp, and rested tranquilly that night. In the earliest part of the morning, his men having armed themselves at his command, he sent to lord Stanley, who had posted himself between both armies, to come, and draw up his soldiers in the most effective array. The lord desired him to follow his own judgment in their disposition, as he could not be with him till the most convenient time of co-operation. This refusal again alarmed Richmond, who was now approaching the great crisis of his peculiar adventure, and who foresaw his certain ruin, if Stanley either disappointed him, or should too long hesitate. But he had two able advisers with him, in lord Oxford and sir John Savage. With their aid, he formed his force into three divisions; making his front as extended as he could safely spread it; and, therefore, from the small number of his own forces, slender and weak. The centre, consisting of his archers, he committed to Oxford; the right wing to sir Gilbert Talbot; the left to sir John Savage, who had so recently abandoned Richard to join him<sup>110</sup>.

seven score sargents, that were chained and locked in a row; and as many bombards, and thousands of morispikes, harquebushes, &c.' MSS. ib. and Nicholl's Hutt. 215.

<sup>109</sup> Graft. 846. Hall, 414.

'He himself the second bringing on, which was a perfect square,' says Drayton, who lived near the place of battle, and describes it with care.

<sup>110</sup> Graft. 846. Pol. V. 563. Sir John Savage was one of the mourners at the funeral of Edward IV. as were sir John Cheney, and sir Walter Hungerford, who were now with Richmond. Harl.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

1485.

His own army was but 5,000 men; but lord Stanley on one side of him had as many more; and sir William, on the other, commanded 3,000<sup>111</sup>. It was obvious that the movements of the two Stanleys would decide the fate of the conflict. Richard's army doubled all these<sup>112</sup>. But Northumberland, who governed almost a third of his force, was prepared to display a neutralizing spirit, that, in the shock of battle, would, from its disheartening effects, be worse than hostility<sup>113</sup>.

Battle of  
Bosworth  
field,  
22 August.

Richard, calling his chieftains together, addressed them in a short and energetic speech. He expressed his regret for the one criminal action by which he had sullied his name, and destroyed his comfort. He painted to them the inexperience of Richmond, and the weakness of his army. "Wherefore, advance your standards; let each man give but one sure stroke, and the battle is our own. As for myself, I assure you, that I will this day either triumph by victory, or suffer death for immortal fame<sup>114</sup>."

MSS. N° 6, 111. Richard had trusted Savage so fully, as to make him one of the commissioners to take the oath of allegiance from the people of Kent. He had made him knight of his body, and rewarded him with grants. Harl. MSS. 433. p. 28, 102, 131, 141. He had put a similar confidence in Bouchier. *Ib.* p. 142. He had also rewarded Hungerford, and made him an esquire of his body, and keeper of parks in Wells. Harl. MSS. p. 16, 27.

<sup>111</sup> Graft. 846. Hall, 414. Pol. V. 563.

<sup>112</sup> *Ib.* The Harl. MSS. N° 542, which, though it seems a versified account, cut down into a prose narrative, yet preserves some valuable particulars, says, 'kynge Richard in a marris dyd stand nombred to XX thousand, and three under his bannar.' MSS. *ib.* Nicholl's Hutt. 216.

<sup>113</sup> Graft. 851.

<sup>114</sup> Though it is not likely that we have the words of the two speeches of Richard and Henry, in Grafton and Hall, yet they have most probably given us the topics.

His address was received with apparent applause ; but his different leaders had settled in their minds the various parts they should act. Some were steady, resolute and animated ; others determined to stand still and look on ; and some to side only with the conquerors <sup>115</sup>. With an army thus broken in opinion, and unattached in feeling, what skill or valor could avail ?

CHAP.

I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

Richmond rode from rank to rank through his army, giving comfortable words to all ; and then ascending a small hill near, “ armed in all pieces but his helmet,” he prepared to address the whole line. He was not tall, but his countenance was animated ; his yellow hair, like burnished gold, flowed gracefully about his quick, grey and shining eyes <sup>116</sup> ; and his loud voice echoing round them, in a bold tone and easy eloquence, conveyed to them his declaration of his trust in heaven for victory ; his indignant exposition of Richard’s unnatural cruelty ; his intimation, to prevent alarm, that it was not numbers which gave success ; his pledge to them, that in such a quarrel, rather than fail they should find him a dead corpse on the cold ground, than a prisoner on a carpet in a lady’s chamber ; and his appeal to heaven for the triumph, as they came to avenge murder. He ended, “ Get this day the victory, and be conquerors—lose this day’s battle, and be slaves. In the name of the Supreme then, and of St. George, let every man courageously advance forth his standard <sup>117</sup>.”

The soldiers now on both sides buckled their helms and shook their bills, while the archers bent their

<sup>115</sup> Graft. 847.<sup>116</sup> Ib. Hall, 416.<sup>117</sup> Graft. 847. Hall, 416.

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
RICH. III.  
1485.

bows and frushed the feathers of their arrows; a great impassable marsh divided the two armies. Richmond's made the first movement, and rapidly placed themselves with their right on this marsh, which not only protected that, but caused them to have the sun at their backs, while it shone full dazzling in the face of their opponents<sup>118</sup>. This judicious manœuvre began the battle, with a secured flank and an encouraging advantage.

The most faithful part of Richard's army was the division which the duke of Norfolk commanded. It was essential to break this, before the victory could be hoped for; and Oxford resolved to attempt this atchievement<sup>119</sup>. To attack it with effect, the earl suddenly condensed his front. Their antagonists mistrusting some fraud, paused awhile their destructive exertions. But Oxford having combined all his men into one connected band, made a furious attack on Richard's centre; while lord Stanley, throwing off all disguise, charged from the right flank<sup>120</sup>. Richard omitted no exertions to counteract the effect of this alarming movement. But the largest part of his army did not choose to fight at all; and Northumberland also betraying him, drew off his men to a little distance from the battle, and remained a tran-

<sup>118</sup> Graft. 849. Hall, 418. The marsh had been drained in Hollingshed's time. p. 758.

<sup>119</sup> Croyl. 574.

<sup>120</sup> Graft. 849, 850. Hall, 418. Pol. V. 563. Cannon appear to have been used; 'the archers let theyr arrows flye; they shot off goonns.' Harl. MSS. 542. Nicholl, 216.

Thus Drayton,

'So thro' the misty smoke,

By shot and ordnance made, a thundering noise was heard.'



quail spectator of the now desperate and unequal conflict<sup>121</sup>. CHAP.  
I.

There is a tradition, that at one period of the struggle, Richard turned out of it to refresh himself, by drinking at a well<sup>122</sup>. It was probably at this time, that his staunch friends, seeing the treachery that was entangling him, brought him a swift and light horse; and advised him to quit the field, and save himself by flight<sup>123</sup>. He resolutely refused. He re-placed his beloved crown conspicuously on his head; bent his mind to the mortal result; and exclaimed, with a heroism of soul, that few men can

REIGN OF  
RICH III.

<sup>121</sup> Grafton, 851; Hall, 419; Hollings. 789, mention, that Northumberland stood still, with a great company, and intermitted not in the battle.

Drayton says,

‘He doth but vainly look

For succors from the great Northumberland this while,  
That from the battle scarce three quarters of a mile

Stood with his power of horse; nor once was seen to stir.’

The inactivity of other parts of his army is mentioned by Grafton. ‘The greatest number which, compelled by fear of the king, and not of their mere voluntary motion, came to the field, gave never a stroke.’ p. 850.

<sup>122</sup> Dr. S. Parr, whose classical erudition, few, if any, of his contemporaries equal, has interested himself with exploring this spring. In his letter on it, dated the 13th of September 1813, he says, ‘Six or seven years ago, I found Dick’s well, out of which, the tradition is, that Richard drank during the battle. It was in dirty, mossy ground, and seemed to me in danger of being destroyed by the cattle. I therefore bestirred myself to have it preserved.’ He composed the following inscription for it. ‘Aquâ, ex hoc puteo haustâ, sitim sedavit Ricardus tertius rex Angliæ cum Henrico comite de Richmondia acerrime atque infensissime prælians, et vitâ pariter ac sceptro ante noctem cariturus, 2 kal. Sept. A. D. 1485.’ Nich. Hutt. Bosw. ad vect. x. xi.

<sup>123</sup> Graft. 851. Pol. V. 564. This advice has been ascribed to Catesby.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

1485.

command, "Not one foot will I fly: I will this day either end all my battles, or here finish my life. I will die king of England <sup>124</sup>."

He closed his helmet, and rushed again into the yet contending forces; but his impetuosity was soon tempted into a fatal precipitation. He had sustained the conflict, with a bravery rarely exemplified, under such circumstances, and kept victory at bay for two hours, when he saw the earl of Richmond before him—not far off, with a small number of men at arms. Too eager to terminate the contest by a personal encounter, he spurred his horse and rode out of the side of his battalion, into the lines of his adversary, to reach his then near competitor. He fixed his spear firmly in its rest; and though not strong in body, yet so furious and so vigorous was his assault, that he drove his lance through sir William Brandon's arm-pit, who was upholding and waving the earl's standard, and who fell dead at his feet. Richmond approached to meet him; but sir John Cheyney advancing first, the king, with a second shock, unhorsed the gallant knight at the first

<sup>124</sup> Ib. Harl. MS. N<sup>o</sup> 542. Nic. Hutt. 217. An interesting incident is mentioned of sir John Byron and sir Gervase Clifton, friends and neighbors in Nottinghamshire. Byron joined Henry; Clifton fought with Richard. They had agreed, that whichever party triumphed, the supporter of that should intercede with the victor, for his friend's estate, for the benefit of his family. In the midst of the battle, Byron saw Clifton fall, in the opposite ranks. He ran to him, sustained him on his shield, and entreated him to surrender. Clifton faintly exclaimed, 'All is over: remember your promise: use all your interest that my lands be not taken from my children;' and expired. Byron performed this promise, and the estate was preserved to the Clifton family. Hutton's Bos. Field, 117—9. There are grants to Clifton, in the Harl. MSS. 433, as p. 81, 96.

charge, though a man of large size and powerful strength <sup>125</sup>. With his sword he then labored to cut a passage towards his rival, through the friends that crowded between; and he had again more than balanced the yet doubtful struggle, when sir William Stanley, seeing the dangerous crisis, and Richard's impending victory, and also the advantage which the king's daring courage had given him, suddenly surrounded Richard, with his hitherto neutral force of 3,000 men <sup>126</sup>. This measure precluded all hope of either life or victory to the king. He cried out repeatedly, that he was betrayed; and yet, though his fate was inevitable, he never shrunk from daring it: but exclaiming, as his sword flashed on the armor of his opponents, "Treason! treason! treason <sup>127</sup>!" as if to show that by treachery alone he was conquered; he continued to hew down those he reached, till exhausted by wounds and fatigue, he fell manfully fighting in the middle of surrounding hosts, who admired, while they suffered by his valor; fearless of all consequences, except disgrace as a soldier; and, therefore, anxious at that time only not to survive defeat. Like his father at Wakefield, he would not even retreat to fight a

<sup>125</sup> Pol. V. 563. Graft. 849, 850. Hall, 418, 419. Drayton.

<sup>126</sup> Pol. Virgil says, that Henry's soldiers 'victoriam jam pene desperabant,' (p. 563) when sir William made the charge that rescued Henry, and destroyed Richard. So Grafton intimates, 'being almost in despair of victory.' 850. So Holling. 759. Henry's own remark afterwards, on this important service of sir William's, was, that 'though he came time enough to save his life, yet he stayed long enough to endanger it.' Lord Bacon's Hen. VII. p. 611.

<sup>127</sup> We derive this striking circumstance from Rous, a contemporary. p. 218.

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
RICH. III.  
1485.

more advantageous battle. If Northumberland had charged with the forces he kept aloof, when sir William Stanley surrounded the king, he would have preserved his life and prevented his defeat. We can hardly conceive how a nobleman, who had acted with him, in destroying Rivers; and who, after Richard's other actions, had taken or kept so many honors and bounties from him, could stand, with cool faithlessness, and see his sovereign exert the most heroic valor against such ungenerous odds, and be almost, if not quite, in the hearing of his death-cries of treason—and yet not move one step, or send one man to his assistance. To let the king he had sworn to defend, be thus beaten down and slain, in his immediate presence, treacherously withholding relief,—was one of the most stubborn efforts of human insensibility, that history has recorded.

No talents could save Richard, amid associates like these. With such a nobility, he was environed in a fatal labyrinth, from which death only could release him<sup>128</sup>. His crown had been hewed from

<sup>128</sup> This battle is usually called, The Battle of Bosworth Field; but the scene of action is called the Field of Redmore, in the York Register, which mentions the report of its issue, brought to the corporation 'by John Spon, sent unto the field of Redmore, to bring tidings from the same to the city.' Drake's Ebor. p. 121. So I observe Drayton thus styles it:

'O Redmore! then, it seemed, thy name was not in vain,  
When with a thousand's blood, the earth was colored red.'

Pedmore means, literally, red marsh, and was, perhaps, the name of the marsh on which Richmond lodged his right flank. But Henry VII. in his proclamation, three days after the battle, addressed to the same corporation, says, 'Richard was slain at a place called Sandeford, within the shire of Leicester.' Drake's Ebor. p. 122.

his head, and was found full of dents in the field, by Bray, who delivered it to lord Stanley<sup>129</sup>. The battle had ceased when Richard expired. Richmond apprized of the decisive victory, kneeled down and breathed his earnest thanks to heaven, for the triumph. Then ascending a hill, publicly thanked all his soldiers for their bravery; and ordered the wounded to be taken care of, and the dead to be buried. The field rang with universal acclamations; and sir William Stanley, seeing the general feeling, placed the crown on Henry's head; and saluted him king, on the field of battle<sup>130</sup>. Henry then moved his army into Leicester that night; and resting two days to refresh his friends, and receive their congratulations, prepared for his march to the metropolis. The dead body of Richard was selected from the rest; and, with an inhumanity, that disgraced the conquerors, but which corresponded with the unpitying feelings of the age, was stripped and thrown naked, and besmeared with blood and dirt, on the back of a horse, in the most contumelious manner; and after being exposed a while to the vulgar gaze, was buried without honor, in the Gray Friars' church, Leicester<sup>131</sup>. About 1,000 of his followers fell; and among these were the duke of Norfolk<sup>132</sup>, lord Ferrers, and sir Robert

<sup>129</sup> Harl. MSS. 542. Nicholls, p. 217.

<sup>130</sup> See Gent. Mag. 1789, vol. 59, p. 424.

<sup>131</sup> Graft. 851, 2. Pol. V. 594. Hall, 419. He was so carried, that his head was crushed against a stone on the bridge. Speed, 737.

<sup>132</sup> Of this nobleman, our old chronicler says truly, 'He regarded more his oath, his honor, and his promise made to king Richard, like a gentleman; and, as a faithful subject to his prince



## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

1485.

Brackenbury<sup>133</sup>. Their deaths proved their steady fidelity; sir William Catesby escaped, only to be soon taken and to be beheaded, shortly afterwards<sup>134</sup>.

Thus fell Richard, the victim of treachery, unparalleled<sup>135</sup>; for there seems to have been no

he absented not himself from his master: but, as he faithfully lived under him, so he manfully died with him.' Holling. 759.

<sup>133</sup> It is said of Brackenbury, that, meeting Hungerford in the battle, who had quitted him on the march, he called him a deserting traitor. The latter replied, that he would not answer him by words; and aimed a blow at his head, that would have felled him, if Brackenbury had not caught it on his shield, which shivered with the force of the blow. Hungerford, with chivalric spirit, delivered his own target to his esquire, exclaiming, that he would take no advantage; they should fight on equal terms. They renewed the conflict, till Brackenbury's helmet was made useless, and he was sorely wounded. Bouchier, who had left him with Hungerford, cried out, 'Spare his life, brave Hungerford! he has been our friend, and may be so again.' But it was too late: he died upon the spot. Hut. Bosw. Field, 115—7.

<sup>134</sup> On the 25th of August, three days after the battle, and on the day that he was beheaded, Catesby made his will. Of Henry, he says, 'He is called a full gracious prince; and *I never offended him*, by my good and free will; for God I take to my judge, *I have ever loved him*.' He adds, looking forward to his approaching execution, 'Pray you in every place, see clearness in my soul; and pray fast, and I shall for you; and Jesu have mercy on my soule, Amen. My lords Stanley, Strange, and all that blood! help! and pray for my soule, for ye have not for my body, as I trusted in you. Lett my lord Lovel come to grace; then that ye show him that he pray for me. And uncle John! remember my soule, as ye have done my body, and better.' Dugd. Warw. 789. There are some expressions in this extract, of attachment to Henry, which make it doubtful if even Catesby was, at last, faithful to Richard.

<sup>135</sup> The report, given the next day, to the corporation of York, is thus entered in their register. 'On 23d August, it was showed by divers persons, especially by John Spon, sent unto the field of Redmore for tidings, that king Richard, through the *great treason*

national movement in favor of Richmond. It was a perfidious combination of five noblemen, which destroyed Richard. Exclusively of the force of the two Stanleys, Henry came to the battle with only 5,000. Of these he had brought 2,000 with him; and 2,000 were the earl of Shrewsbury's, under Talbot. So that, excepting these, all the rest who had joined him from his landing at Milford, to Bosworth field, including the mighty Rice ap Thomas, amounted but to 1,000 men. Hence, it was four English noblemen: the two Stanleys, Shrewsbury, and Northumberland; and the conscientious sir Rice, who dethroned Richard, by betraying and deserting him. The nation had no share in the conflict, notwithstanding all that is said of the king's unpopularity. It was an ambush of a few perfidious and disaffected noblemen, against the crown, which succeeded by their hypocrisy; and Richard perished by one of those factions in his aristocracy, from which, by taking the crown, it seemed likely that he had rescued himself. He had suppressed violently, what he thought dangerous, and he was overwhelmed by the explosion of a new mine, which he had not suspected to be forming beneath him, because it was prepared and fired by those whom gratitude, honor and conscience; ought to have made faithful and attached. Whatever had been his conduct towards his nephew, he had done nothing to them, to deserve that they should have destroyed him.

of the duke of Norfolk, and many others, *that turned against him, was, with many other lords nobility of the north parts, piteously slain and murdered, to the great heaviness of this city.*' Drake's Ebor. p. 121. The name of Norfolk has got inserted instead of Northumberland and the Stanleys.

## C H A P. II.

*Review of the Character, Laws, Causes of Unpopularity, Kindnesses, Tastes, Amusements and Foreign Trade, of Richard III.*

BOOK  
I.

THE confession of our old chroniclers, who so little favor Richard, that if he had continued to be lord protector only, and to have suffered his nephew to have lived and reigned, “the realm would have prospered; and he would have been as much praised and beloved, as he is now abhorred and despised<sup>1</sup>,” and the declaration of lord Bacon, who has adopted every prejudice against him, that he was yet a king “jealous for the honor of the English nation<sup>2</sup>,” are expressive panegyrics, which imply that he must have had some merits, that are inconsistent with that general abuse, by which our elder historians, and their modern copyists, have uniformly defamed him. Even the philosopher of Verulam, instead of calmly stating to us, his laudable qualities and actions, has contented himself with declaring, that “his cruelties and parricides, in the opinion of all men, weighed down his virtues<sup>3</sup>,” thus admitting the existence of what he will not particularize; and he is even so unkind to his memory, as to give the king no credit for the reality of what he felt that he possessed; for he adds, that wise men thought these virtues not to be

<sup>1</sup> Grafton, 853.

<sup>2</sup> Bacon's Hist. Henry VII. p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.

“ingenerate,” but “forced and affected<sup>4</sup>.” So that whatever worth Richard possessed or displayed, he is the only king of England, of whom we are to believe, that nothing which seemed good in him could be genuine; but that he must have been altogether and unceasingly, that “malicious, envious, and deep dissembling” demon, which More and Polydore Virgil<sup>5</sup> have, rather passionately, depicted. Even the little habit of “biting continually his under lip, when in deep thought<sup>6</sup>,” is considered by the latter, to be the mark of a ferocious nature, a human wild beast; as if some of the most harmless and best-principled of men have not had the same habit, or customs as terrific, of knitting, unconsciously, the brow into stern frowns; or of cutting or biting their nails, till the blood has issued, while absorbed in profound and interesting contemplation. Bacon himself lived to know and prove, that a great and noble mind may, by circumstances, be led to commit some obnoxious deeds, without lessening the merit and utility of many virtues, and of a beneficial life. And Richard may justly complain, if his voice could be heard from his bespattered tomb, that his good actions were written in water, but that his bad ones have been engraved on monumental brass. The first have been so studiously covered with oblivion, that we can only imperfectly trace them now, by catching some gleams of a light that has been repressed; or by inferences and conjectures, from the few materials which time has spared. The latter have been blazoned with a

CHAP.

II.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

<sup>4</sup> Bacon's Hist Henry VII. p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> More, p. 154. Pol. V. 565.

<sup>6</sup> Pol. V. 565.

BOOK  
I.REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

vituperation, which does more honor to the feeling than to the judgment of our historical censors.

It is the moral feelings of mankind which he outraged, by one flagitious catastrophe, that has consigned Richard to their indiscriminating detestation. He loved, he courted, the applause of his people. He exerted himself to deserve it; and his intelligence, penetration, activity, temperance, patronage of the rising arts, encouragement of commerce, moral demeanor, attention to religion, and desire to reform the abuses of law and power, that were afflicting the country, were calculated to have produced great celebrity to himself, and lasting advantages to the nation. But, by basing his throne on principles which shook every man's safety and comfort, no merit and no benefit could compensate for the moral evil which would have followed through society, if he could have obtained a peaceful and triumphant reign. He had linked his name and reign with every parent's dread of the chances of evil, from elder kinsmen to fatherless children, which his successful example had created. We expect selfishness, competition, and danger from strangers; but the heart takes refuge in the bosom of natural kinship, as a consecrated home of unquestionable honor and security, if not of affection. We rely on nature as our pledge, that here we shall not be deceived nor disappointed, whatever fraud or violence may be agitating society beyond the circle of our affinity. But till mankind were taught, by Richard's downfall, that such unnatural crimes ended in a discomfiture so signal and unexpected as to seem to be judicial, selfishness was losing its curb, and the ties of nature their most commanding



security. When he fell a just victim to the safety of the orphan, the ward, the kinsman, and the minor king, human confidence regained its assurance, and society its sweetest feeling, and most important comfort; but yet his fate, however useful, has been peculiar.

CHAP.  
II.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

Several kings have reigned, even in England, under circumstances that also called for the moral indignation of the country, who were neither deserted nor deposed like Richard III. Henry I. took the throne, against the right of an elder brother, whom he blinded, and imprisoned till he died, if he did not produce his death<sup>7</sup>. John seized his nephew's throne, and caused him to be murdered<sup>8</sup>. Edward III. came to his crown on the deposition of his father, who was soon after put to death<sup>9</sup>. Richard II. and Henry IV. were the sons of two brothers, yet Henry deprived him of his sceptre; and permitted, if he did not authorize his assassination<sup>10</sup>. All these kings reigned, till a natural death without violence introduced new accessions.

Why then, we may ask, was Richard so peculiarly obnoxious? Did the difference arise, from his age being an era of distinguished virtue? If we look among the great and well-born at that time, we see rapacity, violence, perjury, rebellion, treachery, and unbridled revenge and licentiousness, always before us. Besides his public conduct, as king, which his enemies have extolled, his liberality to his friends was bounded only, by his means of giving at last failing from the abundance of his favors. This fact does not rest merely on the

Ingratitude  
to Richard.

<sup>7</sup> See volume I. of this History, p. 180.

<sup>8</sup> Ib. p. 407.

<sup>9</sup> See vol. II. p. 157.

<sup>10</sup> Ib. p. 324.

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

general phrases in the chronicler<sup>11</sup>; but in the register of his grants, that still remain, we see numerous pardons; annuities to all classes, and of all sums from 2,000*l.* down to twenty shillings, from earls and lords, to yeomen, priests, and anchoresses<sup>12</sup>; perpetual gifts of manors, lands, honors, offices, and pecuniary presents; exemptions from taxes and fines; and several remissions from forfeitures, and revocations of outlawries<sup>13</sup>. The amount of these donations, in a two years' reign, appears to have no parallel; and yet conspiracies multiplied against him during his life, and execration ever since. Those who had partaken of his generosities; the Stanleys<sup>14</sup>, Northumberland<sup>15</sup>, Kidwelly, the Sa-

<sup>11</sup> More, after calling him 'malicious and envious,' adds, that he was 'free of dispense, and, above his power, liberal.' p. 154. I am not aware that the malicious and envious are unusually liberal, or freely spending their wealth. The latter qualities are inconsistent with the preceding epithets.

<sup>12</sup> See the valuable Harl. MSS. N<sup>o</sup> 433, which contains extracts, or copies, of a great quantity of these grants of annuities. I began to select them, but I found them too numerous to be inserted here. Among these are anchoresses; one in Pomfret, p. 28; and one at Westminster, p. 41. Their annuities were, forty shillings, and six marks. To lord Surrey, I observe two annuities, of 1,000*l.* and 1,100*l.*

<sup>13</sup> See the same MS. It contains from 2,000 to nearly 2,500 official documents, (for all of them are not noticed in the printed catalogue) most of which are the king's beneficial grants.

<sup>14</sup> Lord Stanley was made constable of England. Harl. MS. p. 28. An annuity of 100*l.* was granted to him, p. 31; many castles, lordships, and manors, p. 70; and farms, 82. Castle and lordship of Kimbolton, 120. Sir William Stanley was knight of the body, and chamberlain of the county of Chester. ib. p. 115. Several annuities were given to him, p. 32—40; the constableship of Carnarvon, p. 45; several castles, towns, and lordships, p. 88; the lordship of Thornbury, 122.

<sup>15</sup> To Northumberland, besides the Great Powney estate, Richard also granted the lordship of Holderness; Harl. MS. p. 31;

vages, both father and son<sup>16</sup>; the Talbots, Hungerford, Bouchier, and many others, not only abandoned, but took the field against him; and became the persons who, by their combination only, deprived him both of dominion and life. Their hostility shows that he had not the art of conciliating personal attachment among his nobility: he was feared, not loved. Most of those who overwhelmed him, were in offices of his household, nearly attached to his person; and yet, like Darius, he was "deserted at his utmost need, by those his former bounty fed;" he did not fall, but was thrown by them, from his high estate. It is obvious that he was unpopular with the great, who, though their prototype, the renowned earl of Warwick, was no more, could still, like him, make and unmake kings in England.

It is probable, that our great aversion to him has arisen from our throwing back all the elder crimes into barbarous times where, believing all to be dark and savage, we look for no moral sympathies, and are not injured by their bad examples. But Richard belonged to an age that was emerging into light and civilized life. Moral criticism was gaining a welcomed existence, and began to look discriminatingly around. Men have been since, no

and many manors, lordships, lands and offices, in various counties, *ib.* p. 43; and to the Percys, his kinsmen, several lordships and annuities. *Ib.* 43, 58.

<sup>16</sup> Grants occur, in this MS. to Savage the younger, as well as to his father; as, an annuity of 40 marcs, p. 31; the ward and marriage of an heir, p. 102, &c. The desertion of sir John Savage, the day before the battle, must have been very detrimental to Richard, as Richmond was advised to give him the command of one of his wings, in the battle.

BOOK

I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

longer estimated for wealth or title, but according to conduct and principle; and hence, Richard, notwithstanding his shining crown and robes, has been considered but as the murderer of his orphaned nephews: and this fact has driven into oblivion all the rest of his conduct, however laudable.

But we may now safely censure the criminal, without injustice to the man or to the king. Let us then review, dispassionately, the whole of his mixed character. Our Shakspeare has fixed a gloomy celebrity, as durable as his own genius, upon him. It will be, therefore, no unworthy task, if we endeavor to contemplate him, in his fair proportions of authentic history.

Richard's  
repent-  
ance.

That Richard, during his life, endeavored to make the "amende honorable" to society, by repenting of his great crime, and by showing the world that he did so, instead of proudly and stubbornly denying or vindicating it, in defiance of human censure, has been already intimated<sup>17</sup>; and so notorious was his indication of these feelings, that he is represented as having told his army on the morning of his disastrous battle; "although in the adoption or obtaining of the garland, I was seduced and provoked by sinister counsel to commit a detestable act; yet, I trust I have, by strait penance and salt tears, purged the offence. This abominable crime, I require you, of friendship, as clearly to forget, as I daily do remember to lament the same<sup>18</sup>."

But though this obvious remorse may have pleased and satisfied many, it could not, by the public at

<sup>17</sup> See before, p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> Grafton, 846.



large, be deemed true or sufficient, while he continued to profit by his crime. He never threw down the crown and sceptre and royal robes, as evidence of his interior compunction, or as an atonement to society for his bad example. He resolved to live king and to die king; and he kept his diadem as continually upon his head, as if it had been his palladium and paradise; instead of viewing it as the radiant tempter, which had seduced and degraded him. He could not, therefore, have been compassionated as the humbled, heart-broken, and sorrowing penitent, regretting that, by one foul action, he had sullied a heart that could feel, and a soul that aspired to better wishes and deeds. His continual ostentatious display of his crown and full regal state, to his last hour, prove, that if he experienced remorse for having murdered his nephew, he never repented that he had seized his crown; nor could any one suppose that he would have recalled Edward V. into life, if he had possessed the power, upon the terms of abandoning his heart-loved dignity; and yet it became every day more evident, that he could not keep it without new bloodshed and severities, from the hostility that rose against him. He chose to commit these additional, though not illegal violences, and to reign; and, therefore, his penitential agitations were but indications of a spirit formed for worthier things, yet incapable of sacrificing ambition to virtue, and self-doting pride to honor or duty—to man or to God. He preferred, and in the very crisis of the mortal agony, when the alternative of flight and life was offered him, and even true friendship had lost its hope of altering this result, he declared that he preferred death to de-



BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

thronement; and he fought and perished, as he had so much lived, with the guilty crown upon his brow.

That Buckingham and Catesby, at different intervals, for their own purposes, goaded his high self-estimating egotism, to usurp the crown, was both known and believed. Some may have discerned, that if he had not attained it, he might have perished from the violence of others; and hence, have allowed, that safety, vanity and persuasion, led him to his crime, and that to his fate. But mankind are too experienced, and too jealous of their social welfare, to allow it to be to any one an excuse for crime, to say, that he was tempted to commit it; we all feel, that a man must tempt himself, before he can be successfully tempted by others; where the previous self-seduction has not occurred, the offered inducement to wrong is resisted as soon as proposed. The honorable bosom spurns dishonor. The hesitating dally with it till it masters them. It is by coinciding with the secret wish and beginning hope, that it prevails, not so much as a seducing tempter, but as a welcomed auxiliary. Buckingham and Catesby would have urged Richard in vain, if the previous inclination of his egotism had not given persuasion to their voice, and a listening ear to their counsel.

There is no good evidence that Richard was, from the beginning, planning for the crown; but it is not improbable, that he was secretly envying its possessor, and wishing that he had been as fortunately born. The wish may at last have been father to the act.

One public method which Richard took to ex-

press his penitence, and appease his own remorse, though it might please the church and its less enlightened supporters, and suited his own prepossessions, and the religious fashion of the day, was certain of dissatisfying many. He directed 1,000 masses to be said for his brother<sup>19</sup>; and he now went to the expense of founding 100 singing priests at York, to chaunt for mercy upon himself<sup>20</sup>. So at Northampton, the place where he had arrested Rivers, his first act of wrong, he paid a priest to sing for him<sup>21</sup>. At Sheriff's Hutton, where he had imprisoned Rivers, we find another chantery priest of our Lady chapel there, allowed ten pounds a year for his salary<sup>22</sup>. Others were paid for singing elsewhere<sup>23</sup>. The

<sup>19</sup> He signed a warrant for paying the friars of Richmond 12 marcs, and 6s. 8d. for these masses, at York, 27 May 1484. Harl. MS. p. 176.

<sup>20</sup> Rous mentions this, p. 216; and the grants about it are in the Harl. MS. p. 72. 80. 90, &c. He had an early taste for this species of expiation; for when he petitioned his brother, as king, in full parliament, on the partition, with Clarence, of his wife's property, and for leave to grant in mortmain, he added, 'And I, your said suppliant, purpose to edify, found, endowe, and make a college, of a dean, and twelve priests, to sing and pray for the prosperous estate of you, sovereign lord, the queen, *your issue*, and my lady and mother: the welfare of me, Anne my wife, and my issue, while we live in this present world, and for the souls of us when we be departed out of this world; the souls of my lord my father, my brethren and sisters, and of all Christian souls!' Rolls Parl. 6, p. 172.

<sup>21</sup> 'Warrant to pay 10 marks, yearly, to sir John Perty, *to sing for the king*, in a chapel before the holy rood at Northampton,' dated 28 March 1484. Harl. MS. 168.

<sup>22</sup> The order to pay him 100 shillings, for half a year, is dated Windsor, 15 Jan. 1485. MS. ib. 201.

<sup>23</sup> P. 217; p. 166. It seems to have been a great fashion to found chantries; for several, established by other persons, are mentioned, in this MS; as one by the chief justice of the king's

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

king's anxiety for his future state, or for the better opinion of his contemporaries, urged him also to endow a dean and several canons at Berking<sup>24</sup>; and to rebuild a house and chapel, for an anchoress at Pomfret<sup>25</sup>, the town where the queen's brother and son were beheaded. A pilgrimage to St. James, of Galicia in Spain, being, at this time, in great vogue<sup>26</sup> for its anodyne effects, the king licensed sir Bryan Stapleton and a chaplain to go over, "and there to fulfil certain his vows and pilgrimages<sup>27</sup>."

But although, two centuries before him, acts like these might have been deemed sufficient expiation for sins, and have even procured for him the character of a pious prince, they then must have revolted as many as they satisfied. The new spirit that was pervading every part of England in religion, already thought that there was too much singing, and too little edification in the chapels and cathedrals; and deemed pilgrimages worse than useless<sup>28</sup>. Many inheritors of the new wisdom of Wickliffe, were teaching, that as it was the duty and the interest of guilt to be penitent; and as the regretting offender would find it sweet and balmy, to be so; yet that rites, sighs, tears, phrases, gifts, masses, alms, chanting, pilgrimages, and all the mechanical drama of

bench, p. 30; by the bishop, the tutor of Edward V. p. 79; and by other persons, p. 34, 49, 95, 100, 208, &c.

<sup>24</sup> Harl. MS. p. 102, 104.

<sup>25</sup> Ib. p. 193.

<sup>26</sup> See several commissions for ships, with these pilgrims, in the Harl. MS. p. 171, 172, 175, &c.

<sup>27</sup> Ib. 143. Dated 23 Jan. 1484. The letter of recommendation for Thomas Rouloat, 'who hath vowed to doo diverse pilgrimages within this realm,' 29 Jan. 1484, looks like a deputy for the king. Ib. p. 146.

<sup>28</sup> See before, p. 138, 143.

bodily sorrow, were not to be substituted for that self-condemning humiliation for the crime, and that deposition of the splendid advantages for which it had been committed, which Richard's spirit could never brook. It was becoming obvious, that if a theatrical compromise of this sort could be effectual, crime would be as frequent as the inclination to enjoy its fruits; and earth would become uninhabitable. Hence Richard was, by many, but more suspected of hypocrisy for his penitential actions. This was hard measure; but it was natural. He could not be wiser than the legal and established directors of the conscience of his age. They taught the delusive theory of the benefit of ceremonial penance, and built their affluence upon its belief; and he, like all his contemporaries, who did not adopt the new opinions of the Lollards, cherished the doctrine of purchaseable expiation and ritual penitence; and would have deemed it heresy, worse than his own misdeeds, to have questioned their efficaciousness. Yet, who could accredit his sincerity, while he wore his blood-earned crown!

Another of the means, by which Richard endeavored to manifest his repentance, to atone for his crime, and to regain the good opinion of society, was, by becoming an active instrument to suppress vice in his kingdom, in all classes, and to urge them to rectitude and morality. On the 10th of March 1484, he addressed a circular letter to all his bishops<sup>29</sup>. In this he mentions, "our principal intent and fervent desire is, to see virtue and cleanness of living to be advanced, increased and multiplied; and vices, and

<sup>29</sup> Harl. MS. p. 281.

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

all other things repugnant to virtue, provoking the displeasure of God, to be repressed and annulled; and this *perfectly followed*, and put in execution, *by persons of high estate*, pre-eminence and dignity, not only induces persons of lower degree, to take thereof ensample, and to ensure the same<sup>30</sup>.”—He adds, “and as it is notarily known, that in every jurisdiction, as well in their pastoral care, as other, *there be many*, as well of the *spiritual* party, as of the temporal, delyring from the true way of virtue and good living, to the pernicious example of others, and lothsomeness of every well-disposed people;—WE, therefore, desire and require you, that according to the charge of your profession, ye see, within the authority of your jurisdiction, all such persons as set apart virtue, and promote the damnable execution of sin and vices, to be reformed, repressed and punished; not sparing for any love or favor, whether the offender be temporal or spiritual<sup>31</sup>.”

With this avowed desire of impartial reformation, when he visited Kent, he published a patriotic proclamation, in which he stated, “the king’s highness is fully determined to see administration of justice to be had throughout his realm, and to reform and punish all extortion and oppressions in the same. Therefore he wills, at his coming into Kent, that every person dwelling therein, that findeth himself grieved, oppressed, or unlawfully wronged, make a bill of his complaint, and put it to his high-

<sup>30</sup> He also subjoins, I think, with an allusion to his private deprecating supplications, ‘but also thereby, the great and infinite goodness of God is made placable, and graciously inclined to the *exaudition of our petitions and prayers.*’ Ib.

<sup>31</sup> Harl. MS. p. 281.



ness, and he shall be heard ; and without delay have such convenient remedy as shall accord with the laws." He adds, " for his grace is utterly determined; that all his true subjects shall live in rest and quiet, and peaceably enjoy their lands and goods according to the laws. He therefore chargeth, that no man, of whatever condition, trouble, hurt, or spoil any of his said subjects, or their bodies or goods, on pain of death ; that none make or contrive quarrels ; nor take any victuals without paying for them, nor vex any farmer, &c.<sup>32</sup>."

On these principles he also acted, when on receiving information that a constable had been grievously maimed at Gloucester, by three riotous gentlemen, he dispatched a mandate from London, on the 6th of December 1484, directing the imprisonment of the assailants ; and prohibiting retainers, liveries and their insignia, which united men into bands, following great leaders<sup>33</sup>. He even extended his reforms to the offices of his ministers ; and would not allow their minor situations to be purchased, to the 'prejudice of the fair system of rising by seniority<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> Harl. MS. This, and the preceding, have been printed in the notes to Kennet's Hist. V. 1. p. 576. So, in his proclamation for the apprehension of several who had taken arms against him, he declared his intent to administer strict justice to all his subjects : and forbidding several evil practices. MS. ib. p. 128.

<sup>33</sup> Harl. MS. p. 127.

<sup>34</sup> Thus, he ordered a person to be discharged ' from his place, in the office of the privy seal, to which he had been admitted by giving of great gifts, and other sinister and ungodly ways, to the great discouraging of the under-clerks, which have long continued therein, to see a stranger, never brought up in the said office, put them by from their promotion.' MS. ib. p. 123.

These were all laudable acts, beneficial to his subjects, and fairly announcing his own desire to contribute to the happiness and to increase the morality of his people; but they were not likely, as he was circumstanced, to add to his popularity. Reformation of political grievances, whether real or imaginary, is always a source of reputation, because it affects the distant government, with which few are in immediate contact; while it leaves the individual critic and supporter untouched. But reformation of the private conduct and manners is never popular, unless it originates from the most unquestionable and commanding virtue. It interferes too much with our daily habits, tempers, interests, pursuits, amusements, and inclinations, to be cordially welcomed; and from a man of one great and known crime, would be always suspected to be hypocrisy and art. The rudest mind could say, what all would feel, "Murderer of your nephews! do you preach to us!" And when the powerful found him to be repressing their injustice and oppressions, would they not think or ask; What wrongs they had done or could do, which he had not exceeded! They could but seize lands or goods, or one heiress, maid, or widow; but he had usurped from its lawful possessor a throne; and even while he lectured and coerced them, was only able to do so, by keeping the mighty spoil which he had seized. Hypocrisy would be the general charge upon him for all his efforts, however sincere, to produce those moral amendments in society, by which he endeavored to atone for his own errors. He had brought himself into the dilemma, that all his wrong actions would be deemed tyrannical, and his good ones

hypocritical; and this evil has pursued his memory, as it abridged his life. CHAP. II.

The strong outcry of tyranny, which has been raised against Richard, and under reigns, when the liberties of the subject were little respected, seems to have arisen not so much from actual cruelties committed, which, in common language, convert a king into a tyrant, but rather from those severe and repeated exertions of legal power, by which he endeavored to crush and extinguish discontent<sup>35</sup>. Not exceeding some former precedents of kingly authority, he often used its antient privileges, with a precipitation<sup>36</sup>, a frequency, a publicity, an unqualified display, and a rigorous impartiality, which, though not contrary to the prior and permitted practice of the crown, was justly becoming offensive to the improving reason, the more observing sense of justice, the rising prosperity, and the wanted privileges of the nation. Arbitrary government, even for good purposes, was neither expedient nor palatable. No one desired to abase the local despotisms of the aristocracy, to set up that of the monarchy instead. Hence, when Richard sent his mandates to seize ships, mariners, soldiers, artificers, artists, victuals, materials, conveyances and goods, whenever he wanted them for his purposes, public or

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

Why called  
a tyrant.

<sup>35</sup> Thus, when after the rebellion in the west, he indicted four persons of distinction, as principals in treason, and above five hundred others, as accessories, of whom only two were taken and suffered, and the rest fled, he is said, by the chronicler, to have 'tyrannically persecuted them.' *Holling.* 746. It was unwise severity, but not tyranny.

<sup>36</sup> Thus, he beheaded Buckingham, without arraignment or judgment. *Holling.* 744. but Edward IV. and queen Margaret had done so with many revolting nobles.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

private<sup>37</sup>;—when he, even in his earnestness to have proper persons in the provincial magistracies, charged the bailiffs, &c. of Tamworth, to have no regard to a custom of choosing their bailiffs out of their burgesses and freeholders, but to regard the suffisaunce of the person's goods only<sup>38</sup>;—when in pursuance of his habit of acting vigorously, on the first moment of any alarm, he signed a command to assist a yeoman of the crown, in attacking certain persons in sundry places of the west parts of England, “ which he detected of certain things that they should do and attempt, against their natural duty and liegance<sup>39</sup>,” when what he wanted for gunpowder, was thus forcibly taken<sup>40</sup>, the nation was displeased at this peremptory use of the royal authority. So his quick and immediate pursuit and orders to seize all who attempted any insurrections against him; and his unhesitating confiscation and

<sup>37</sup> As ‘ Warrant to aid and assist the king's clerk and counsellor, A. L. in taking up all vitaille, souldours, mariners, artificers, labourers, carts, boats, and all other stuff; as horses, waynes, and all such timber and stones as he shall think necessary, for the king's use;’ dated 31 July 1485. Harl. MS. p. 179. And ‘ Warrant to aid and assist J. P. in taking up, at the king's price, suche and as many mariners, souldours, &c. to do the king service in certayne of his shippes; and vitaille, and other things behoveful for the same;’ dated Scarborough, 30 June 1484. Ib. These kind of mandates abound in this volume, and for all kinds of purposes.

<sup>38</sup> Harl. MS. p. 190; dated at Nottingham, 12 Oct. 1484.

<sup>39</sup> Harl. MSS. p. 189.

<sup>40</sup> ‘ Warrant to assist J. C. yeoman of the crown, to take, in the king's name, all manner of stuff necessary for making of certain great stuff of gunpowder, which John Bramburgh, a stranger-born, had covenanted with the king to make for him; and for the same to agree and make prices with the owners.’ 28 Jan. 1484. p. 145.

granting away their possessions, without waiting for legal sentences or parliamentary attainders, occasioned great reprobation to him<sup>41</sup>. The number of respectable men, crowded into one proclamation, startled the reader; and by such formidable enmity being displayed, his own government was arraigned and endangered<sup>42</sup>. His policy outshot its own object, in confessing, that so many men of their character and importance, had combined against him. The number of thinking minds and feeling hearts, which began to perceive what good government ought to be, and of what evils this manner of ruling would be productive, were increasing every year. They perceived, that such despotic powers were grievances, which no temporary benefit ought to sanction; and as Richard, by ever moving in the shortest path to his desired ends, was repeatedly

<sup>41</sup> There are many commissions and warrants of this sort, in the Harl. MS.; as those to lord Stanley, to seize, to the king's use, the lands of St. Leger, p. 134; others, to seize the lands and goods of sir W. Brandon, 143; of bishop Morton, 137; sir Roger Tocot, 145; and a great many more. They were sometimes so general, as 'Warrant for the delivery of all manner of sheep, horses, oxen, kine, swyne, and other cattle, to the king, appertaining by the forfeiture of his rebels and traitors, within the counties of Somerset and Dorset;' 6 Jan. 1484, p. 137; and 'Warrant for selling the hay and corn, except wheat, of the said rebels,' 138. What a latitude for oppression, in the execution of these mandates, must there have been!

<sup>42</sup> Thus, a proclamation was issued for the taking of sir John Gilforde, sir Thomas Lewknor, sir William Hawte, sir William Cheyney, Richard Gilforde, Reynold Pympe, sir Edward Poyning, sir Thomas Fenys, sir William Brandon, John Wingfelde, Anthony Kene, Nicholas Gaynesforde, and *several others*, the king's rebels and traitors; offering 300 marks, or 10 *l.* of land, for taking any of the first six, and 100 *l.* or ten marks of land, for any of the rest. Harl. MS. p. 128.



## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

enforcing them, the charge of tyranny was fastened upon his reign; and by the useful clamor, many future repetitions of it have been prevented. If England were ever to be free and prosperous, it was certainly time that such mandates of state should be discountenanced and disused. His use of them had the unintending merit of making former oppressions discreditable; and showed to all administrations, that power reigns more safely by concealing than by displaying its own extent<sup>43</sup>.

His forced  
loans and  
laws.

Our ablest lawyers have acknowledged, that his statutes were wise and useful. In the enactment, that his subjects should be no more charged by the exactions or impositions called Benevolences<sup>44</sup>, a mode of raising money without parliament, he gratified the country. But although, unfortunately for himself, he destroyed his own popularity, and irritated the country, by having recourse, in his future exigencies, to the very measure he had abrogated; it is probable, that like all our sovereigns who have

<sup>43</sup> One instance, how unfairly Richard has been charged with tyranny, appears in the imputation transmitted by More, and copied by all, that he had Collingbourne executed for a satyrical distich. See before, vol. 3. chap. 3. But the truth was, that this man was arraigned for treasonable offences. His indictment states, that, about the 18th July 1484, he had offered another 8*l.* to go to Richmond and Dorset in Bretagne, and urge them to invade England, before St. Luke's day, to get the revenues due at Michaelmas; and to assure them, that, if Richmond would land at Poole, he, and others, would cause the people to rise in arms for him. Also, to advise Richmond to send Cheney, to inform the French king, that Richard meant only to dally with his ambassadors till the winter was over, and then to attack France; and therefore, that it was Charles's interest to aid Richmond immediately. Holling. 746.

<sup>44</sup> Stat. of Realm, V. 2. p. 478.

attempted to obtain supplies, by exerting their prerogative, he was afraid to summon a parliament, when discontent increased upon him. He was too liberal, to be personally rapacious; for when the corporations of London, Gloucester and Worcester, offered him money, he magnanimously refused it, telling them he would rather have their hearts than their property<sup>45</sup>. There was nothing mean or sordid about him. But having emptied his exchequer by his bounties to men, who were enabled by his own generosity, more effectually to betray him; and pressed by Richmond's impending invasion and the domestic conspiracies which it excited, he allowed himself to use his power to extort money on the plea of necessity—the tyrant plea—which contributed to fix that character upon him, and its consequential evils<sup>46</sup>.

Besides some beneficial regulations on those important modes of transferring landed property, which are called fines and feoffments, and others, to rectify abuses in the petty but useful temporary courts called Pie-powdre, held during fairs; besides annulling certain patents to Edward's queen; and some statutes on manufactures and trade<sup>47</sup>; he sanctioned three most serviceable enactments for the relief of his subjects, from the oppressions of their superiors. One was, that on arrest for suspicion of felony, every justice of the peace should have power to bail<sup>48</sup>; another, that the property of persons im-

<sup>45</sup> We learn this from Rouse, Hist. p. 216.

<sup>46</sup> More says, that, being 'obliged to pill and spoil in other places, this got him *stedfast hatred*.' p. 154.

<sup>47</sup> Stat. Realm, V. 2. p. 477. 480—498.

<sup>48</sup> Ib. 478.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

prisoned for felony, should not be seized before conviction<sup>49</sup>; a law, which, in treason, his own conduct sometimes counteracted; and the third, which directed that none should be returned for juries, but those who had forty shillings a-year freehold; because so many untrue verdicts had been given by persons "of no substance or behaviour, and not dreading God or worldly shame:" and thereby several had, through the excitation of their evil willers, been wrongfully indicted, and others improperly spared<sup>50</sup>. It was the weakness of Richard's mind, to let the urgencies of the moment defeat the provisions of his deliberate judgment. His good laws<sup>51</sup> gave the people that knowledge and taste of a better system, which made them resent, more indignantly, his own subsequent breaches of it; as he then assumed a dispensing right, which no common sense could approve.

While such masses of military retainers and badged followers obeyed the orders of the great nobility and gentry, it was of small avail to a king to be popular among the nation, if the aristocracy were either indifferent or averse to him. Till the full use of artillery made armor either useless or prejudicial to its wearers, none could stand in battle against them, who were without it, or who had not learnt to act in it with strength and agility, or who were not powerful in archery. Hence, the common

<sup>49</sup> Stat. Realm, V. 2. p. 479.

<sup>50</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>51</sup> But as Richard could gain no favor for any thing, even 'his politic and wholesome laws,' Bacon says, and without a word of counteraction, 'were interpreted to be but the brocade of an usurper, thereby to woo and win the hearts of the people.' Hist. Hen. VII.

population who had not been trained by a due military education, were but a mob, that was sure to be broken as soon as attacked; and this state of warfare made the antient aristocracy of the country the terror of the crown, whenever its feelings united against the reigning sovereign.

CHAP.  
II.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

It was the number of followers which the nobility and gentry retained or could assemble and exhibit, under the family insignia of their crest or other device, which gave them the power of thus endangering the throne, and of doing much sudden mischief, and many oppressions. To abate this evil in the country, Richard was steady in discountenancing the antient custom of giving liveries, badges, ensigns, cognizances or other distinctive clothing or ornaments to any. He issued several prohibitions of this sort, very necessary to the peace and improvement of the country, but very displeasing to those who had the means of conferring what they could make so useful to their violences. The sheriffs of various counties, and mayors of various cities and towns, were instructed to forbid both the granting or wearing this dangerous costume, and also the receiving them from any person whomsoever<sup>52</sup>. This was an attack on the pride and power of the great and rich, as bold as it was patriotic<sup>53</sup>. But all his measures to lessen their oppressions, al-

His repres-  
sion of the  
retinue of  
the great.

<sup>52</sup> See Harl. MS. p. 111, 138, 210, 188, and many other places. One example may suffice. The mayor of Bedford was commanded to make open proclamation, that none of the inhabitants take or receive any retainers, liveries, clothings, or cognizance, of any person whatsoever; 26 Sept. 1484, p. 188.

<sup>53</sup> Ib. Lord Bacon admits, that he was 'a good lawyer for the ease and solace of the common people.' Hist. p. 2.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

though wise of themselves, and kind to the people at large, necessarily displeased the aristocracy; and may be considered as a far more active cause of its enmity against him, than their moral sympathies on his nephews' fate. No class surrenders accustomed power, without enmity to the hand that exacts the loss. In these public benefits of Richard, we see the real cause of his unpopularity with the higher orders. Hence, his reign is truly characterized by Polydore Virgil, in two words, "*nobilium defectionem*," the disaffection of his nobility<sup>54</sup>. He was becoming too good a king, to suit their interests; and yet his life might have given the crown a disproportionate authority instead. The constitutional balance was perhaps best maintained, by the events that were permitted or directed to occur.

His fastidious use and display of his regal state, revealed too large a personal vanity to create attachment<sup>55</sup>. Every one has too much of this weakness to endure it from another; and as the pomp of Richard was too expensive for the less affluent of the gentry, and too self-prominent not to make the wealthier feel a great comparative diminution in his

<sup>54</sup> Pol. Virg. 565.

<sup>55</sup> His wardrobe, and love of finery, has been already noticed. He gave his queen  $4\frac{1}{2}$  yards of purple cloth of gold, upon damask. Harl. MS. p. 130. He licensed a merchant of Genoa to bring to England, 'dynamount and other gemmyns, or pretious stones, that if they be for the king's pleasure, *he* may have the first purchase thereof *before all other*.' 9 Dec. 1484. Ib. He authorized alderman Shaw to bring out of France, &c. 'all manner of gold and silver, and pretious stones, without paying custom.' Ib. p. 210. These were apparently for the king. Divers pieces of his rich plate are mentioned in the receipt for them, p. 212, to be used in the north.



presence, it increased, instead of abating, his personal unpopularity. He seems to have discovered the impropriety of his long desertion of his metropolis, for he was chiefly in it during the last twelve months of his life <sup>56</sup>.

His position, as to the church establishment, compelled him to make enemies, whatever course of conduct he should adopt. To shield it, was to dissatisfy all those who desired a participation of its wealth, a reduction of its luxury, a relaxation of its doctrinal despotism, and a diminution of its temporal powers; and who would expect an usurped reign to be most adverse to ancient bigotry. To favor the opponents of the possessed church, was to ensure its enmity; and even his warlike brother, who at first inclined against it, had at length bent, from his love of ease and quiet, to its power. In September, he may have still hesitated <sup>57</sup>; but on the 2d of October 1484, he publicly showed, that he had decided to uphold it, for he issued a mandate, commanding that twenty acres of pasture, which had been taken from the convent at Pomfret, should be restored to it; and he took the occasion to tell the nation in it, that he had called “to remembrance the dreadful sentence of the church against all those persons, who wilfully attempt to *usurp unto themselves, against good conscience, possessions or other*

His conduct towards the church.

<sup>56</sup> Excepting one short excursion to Canterbury, in November 1484, and occasional visits to Windsor, in December, January, February, April and May, he was in the metropolis from the beginning of November 1484, to the June preceding his fall, as appears by the grants in the Harl. MS.

<sup>57</sup> On the 23d of September 1484, he seized on the bishop of Salisbury's temporalities. Harl. MS. p. 117.

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

things of right belonging to the church; and the great peril of soul which might ensue by the same<sup>58</sup>." It is extraordinary, that he should so far forget his own usurpation, as to suppose that this language could have any other effect than to make its readers indignant at its hypocrisy, or self-delusion, and to ensure its being contemptuously retorted upon himself.

Whether he felt this result cannot be affirmed; but he seems to have paused awhile on this subject, though he received the archbishop of Canterbury into his favour, in the December following<sup>59</sup>.

In February 1484, the clergy of England met in convocation; and from that addressed to him a petition, complaining that churchmen were cruelly, grievously, and daily troubled, vexed, indicted, and arrested; drawn out of church, and without due reverence, even from the altar, by malicious and evil-disposed persons, notwithstanding all the censures, anathematizations and curses, yearly promulgated and fulminated by the holy father the pope, and in all the churches of England; so that they could not be resident on their benefices, to execute duly and devoutly their office<sup>60</sup>.

This complaint shows, that both the law and the laity were steadily attacking the ecclesiastical property and privileges.

They proceed to express to him a most emphatical compliment, some months after the circulated ac-

<sup>58</sup> Harl. MS. 121.

<sup>59</sup> On the 8th of December 1484, he stated this to his grace's tenants, and ordered them to pay him their rents. Ib. 128.

<sup>60</sup> See the document in these words, in Wilk. Concil. V. 3, p. 614. The convocation met on the 3d of February 1484.

count of his nephews' deaths, which, as coming from the dignified representatives of the whole body of the English clergy, becomes a kind of sacred testimony to his character; it must either have been a phrase of the most consummate hypocrisy, or must be allowed to counterbalance, in no small degree, the defamation that has pursued him. They say, "in eschewing whereof, seeing your MOST NOBLE AND BLESSED DISPOSITION IN ALL OTHER THINGS, we beseech you to take tender respect and consideration unto the premises, and of yourself, as a most catholic prince, to see such remedies, that under your most gracious letters patents, the liberties of the church may be confirmed, and sufficiently authorized by your high court of parliament, rather enlarged than diminished<sup>61</sup>."

The clergy appear to have persuaded him to become their patron and protector; for there is an official document addressed to them, declaring, that the king had confirmed all their liberties to them, as in their patent made by Edward IV<sup>62</sup>. He also released the dean of York and others, from paying tenths or fifteenths, during their lives<sup>63</sup>; but it was not till the 1st of March 1484, that he wrote to pope Sixtus IV. promising to do him obedience, by the bishop of St. David's; and excusing his not having done it before, on account of the conspiracies he had to suppress<sup>64</sup>, although that of Buckingham's was ended in the October preceding. But now, having fixed his determination to uphold the church as it was, he sent the prelate to him, as the ambassador of

<sup>61</sup> Wilk. Con. V. 3, p. 614.

<sup>62</sup> Harl. MS. 44.

<sup>63</sup> Harl. MS. 53.

<sup>64</sup> Rym. Fœd. 12, p. 214; and Harl. MSS.

his submission; and solicited the pontiff to give a cardinal's hat to his bishop of Durham<sup>65</sup>. • In the following December, he sent both these bishops to give his obedience to the new pope Innocent IV<sup>66</sup>. Yet, while he offended all the liberalizing minds of the country, by upholding the superstitions and systems which so many wished to modify, he was soon compelled to alter his conduct; for in March 1485, we find him invading one of their most stoutly-claimed privileges, by issuing a warrant to take up sir Lewis Deyken, priest, for certain great murders, robberies, and other detestable offences, which he had committed<sup>67</sup>; and in May such differences had arisen between him and St. Peter's chair, that he signed a commission to examine if the pope's bull, sent into Guernsey, was hurtful to his interests<sup>68</sup>.

Richard had so turned the eye of public criticism upon his actions, that he could do nothing that would be deemed unobjectionable, or that would not be objected to. Other sovereigns, by indolence, retiring conduct, or by management, put all the public responsibility of their conduct on their ministers; but Richard, unfortunately for himself, was so personally active, and so fond of showing that he was so, that he was supposed to do every thing; and therefore blamed for whatever occurred. He would have been more effectively and more safely the king, if he had striven less to be so; but he loved to feel his power, and to exert it himself, and to be seen to do so. He had too gross a sense of royalty. He

<sup>65</sup> Rym. Fœd. 12, p. 216.

<sup>65</sup> Ib. p. 253.

<sup>67</sup> Harl. MS. 210. This person seems to have escaped from Radnor castle; for there is a pardon to his keeper for it. Ib. 94.

<sup>68</sup> Rym. Fœd. 12, p. 269.

did not confine himself to the interior and more exquisite enjoyment of it, which usually attends native and habitual greatness. He wanted the vulgar and animal gratification from it, which a man, raised suddenly from the dust to the throne, may be supposed to crave; but which the brother of a king, accustomed all his life to courtly splendor, ought neither to have valued nor demanded.

Without stretching flattery so far, as to assert that he had a most blessed disposition, some new facts may be adduced, to show that he was not an unnatural anomaly. His letter to his mother, after he became king, is expressed in an attentive and affectionate style<sup>69</sup>. But the register of his official acts, shows many personal civilities to the ladies of his political enemies, from which, as they have never been noticed, he has not had his deserved praise. Although lord Oxford was his implacable enemy to

<sup>69</sup> It was written in June 1484. Harl. MS.

‘Madam,

‘I recommend me to you as heartily as is to me possible, beseeching you, in my most humble and affectuouse wise, of your daily blessing, to my singular comfort and defence in my need. And, madam, I heartily beseech you, that I may often hear from you, to my comfort. And such news as be here, my servant, Thomas Brian, this bearer, shall show you, to whom please it you to give credence unto.

‘And, Madam, I beseech you to be good and gracious lady to my lord, my chamberlain, to be your officer in Wiltshire, in such as Colingbourne had. I trust, he shall therein do you good service: and that, if it please you, by this bearer, I may understand your pleasure in this behalf. And I pray God send you the accomplishment of your noble desires.

‘Written at Pomfret, the 3d day of June, with the hand of

‘Your most humble son,

‘Ricardus Rex.’



## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

his last breath, yet he granted his lady a pension of 100*l.* a year, during the earl's exile and hostility<sup>70</sup>. To lady Hastings, the widow of the peer he had destroyed, he intrusted, with a generous magnanimity, the keeping of all her castles, and presented her with the wardship and marriage of her son and heir<sup>71</sup>; although this latter must have been a most valuable pecuniary favor, that many were suing for; and though it gave her the power of educating her son with the revengeful spirit of hostility against him: from this youth he took off the attainder. Nothing could be a greater act of atoning kindness to her, and of liberal confidence, unless it was another official instrument, which he signed at Reading, on the 13th of July, a month after he had made her a widow, by which he covenanted to her to protect her and her children in all their possessions, wardships, and other just rights; to suffer none to do them wrong, and to assist them upon all occasions, as their good and gracious sovereign lord<sup>72</sup>. Sir Thomas More says, that he loved Hastings. These documents prove an unusual regard, and great good feeling, that he should have taken such a zealous care of his family afterwards. To the widowed duchess of Buckingham, he gave an annuity of 200 marks<sup>73</sup>. He sent her permission to come, with her servants and children, to London<sup>74</sup>. He gave a safe guard to Florence, the wife of Alexander Cheyney; and expressed in it, that "for her good and virtuous disposition, he had taken her into his protection, and granted to her the custody of her husband's lands and property, though being confederated with certain rebels and

<sup>70</sup> Harl. MS. p. 53.<sup>71</sup> Ib. 27.<sup>72</sup> Ib. 108.<sup>73</sup> Ib. 77<sup>74</sup> Ib. 135.

traitors, he had intended and compassed the utter destruction of the king's person <sup>75</sup>." He ordered the officers and tenants of the estates, which had been settled on lady Rivers, as her jointure, to pay to her all their rents and duties <sup>76</sup>; and he took off the sequestration he had put on the lands of an outlaw, that his wife might have the benefit of them <sup>77</sup>. He seems, by their number, to have taken pleasure in doing acts of good nature and courtesy to the female sex. He settled annuities on many widows, and other ladies <sup>78</sup>. He paid one, the arrears of a pension given to her by Edward IV. <sup>79</sup>, though future kings rarely heed their predecessors debts or bounties. He granted to lady Dynham four tons of wine yearly <sup>80</sup>. He confirmed an annual allowance, which he had made as duke of Gloucester <sup>81</sup>; and settled a small one on the widow of an herald <sup>82</sup>; and a larger one on the sister of lord Lovel <sup>83</sup>. All these were acts of kindness, which, if he had been of that malicious, envious and brutal nature, which has been ascribed to him, he would not have performed. A gift to the monks of an abbey burnt down <sup>84</sup>; and to a merchant, towards his losses in trade <sup>85</sup>; a protection for requiring alms to a man, whose dwelling-house and property, with his thirteen tenements, had been all consumed by fire, to his utter undoing; and his recommendation of him, as having kept a good household, by which many poor creatures had been refreshed <sup>86</sup>; his payment of Buckingham's debts <sup>87</sup>;

<sup>75</sup> Harl. MS. p. 126.<sup>76</sup> Ib. 166.<sup>77</sup> Ib. 77.<sup>78</sup> For many of these, see Harl. MS. p. 37, 41, 46, 58, 71, 76, 179, &c. &c.<sup>79</sup> Ib. 205.<sup>80</sup> Ib. 89.<sup>81</sup> Ib. 200.<sup>82</sup> Ib. 91.<sup>83</sup> Ib.<sup>84</sup> Ib. 153.<sup>85</sup> Ib. 101.<sup>86</sup> Ib. 148.<sup>87</sup> Ib. 64, 97.

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

and of the bishop of Exeter's, who pursued him with hostility to his last hour<sup>88</sup>; and his commission to the hermit of the chapel of Reculver, that had been ordained for the burial of those who should perish by storms, to receive alms to rebuild its roof<sup>89</sup>; the grant of an annuity, for good service done to his father<sup>90</sup>:—all these attentions display a temper of the same good feelings which we desire to see in every well-directed mind. There is nothing of the common, cruel, crooked-backed Richard about them. It is clear that he had a heart and sympathies much like our own, though at one interval he forgot their claims. It is a petty circumstance, but it tends to the same point, of showing that he possessed a common nature of urbanity with the rest of his species, that he did not neglect the custom then in use, of presenting his friends with new year's gifts<sup>91</sup>. He may have been wrathful, as More intimates<sup>92</sup>, which we may understand to mean, that he was irritable, peremptory and impatient of delay, hesitation or opposition to his plans or of his wishes; and this temper, arising from energy and excitability, may have constituted that feritas naturæ, that fierceness of nature, which has been charged upon him. But if the imperfections and exacerbations of human sensibility are crimes, who is there that is unsinning?

He buries  
king Henry  
the Sixth at  
Windsor.

It is a remarkable instance of the jaundiced eye, with which even the laudable actions of this king have been wilfully contemplated, that although one

<sup>88</sup> Harl. MS. p. 208.

<sup>89</sup> Ib. 215.

<sup>90</sup> Ib. 120.

<sup>91</sup> There is a warrant to pay alderman Shaw '200 marks, for certene newe yeres giftes, bought of him, against the fest of Cristymesse.' Ib. p. 148.

<sup>92</sup> More, p. 154.

contemporary historian, who was no flatterer of him, has mentioned to his praise, that in August 1484, he caused the body of Henry VI. which had been obscurely buried at Chertsey, to be brought to Windsor, with great solemnity<sup>93</sup>, and to be interred with his royal predecessors there; an act of respectful kindness to the memory of this inoffensive king, and very creditable to his own feelings; yet the clergy, who, in his life-time, had extolled "his noble and blessed disposition"<sup>94</sup> in February 1484, when all his worst actions had been committed; ten years only afterwards, in 1494, under the reign of his successor, when it had become loyal to abuse him, mentions this removal from Chertsey to Windsor, with an invective against him, and as an instance of his malignity of nature, that had extinguished all piety and humanity in him<sup>95</sup>. They declare, that he transferred the corpse to Windsor, because he envied Henry's name, and desired to stop the concourse of people that flocked to his former tomb<sup>96</sup>; and yet but ten lines before, they had described Chertsey as a place "certainly hidden, and remote from the common access of the public, and not fit for the sepulchre of so great a king"<sup>97</sup>. These gross inconsistencies show, that the most calumnious misrepresentations pursued even the most honorable actions of this defamed sovereign. It was magnanimous in Richard, after the slanderous imputations

<sup>93</sup> Rous, p. 218.<sup>94</sup> See before, p. 79.<sup>95</sup> In their address to the pope, to remove Henry VI. to Westminster, they say of Richard, on his re-interment, 'in quem feritas naturæ, animæ que malignitas, omnem pietatem atque humanitatem penitus extinxerat.' Wilk. Concil. 3, p. 635.<sup>96</sup> Ib.<sup>97</sup> Ib.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

he had suffered about Henry's death<sup>98</sup>, to bring the subject again full before the contemplation of the nation by his state removal and funeral, after the old king had been thirteen years in his royal grave; and it is inconceivable how even party rage could distort a royal interment at Windsor, a place of high celebrity and great public resort, into an envious desire of committing the corpse to oblivion and neglect.

It was an act of generous attention to the convenience of his people, that although Edward IV. had for his own hunting gratification annexed a great circuit of country to the forest of Wichwood, and appropriated it to his own use, yet Richard, notwithstanding his attachment to the chace, to please the people, disforested it, and threw it open to the public<sup>99</sup>. But his popular actions procured him no favor from the lordly aristocracy, which sought only the continuance of its own oppressive bondage.

His personal tastes  
and pleasures.

Among the amusements of Richard's leisure hours, he seems to have been attached to music; but to have gratified his taste for it by exertions of authority more suitable to that age than to our own. He empowered one of the gentlemen of his chapel, "to take and seize for the king, all such singing men and children, expert in the science of music, as he could find, and think able to do the

<sup>98</sup> This same document, written in 1494, gives important evidence, that Richard did not, in their opinion, kill king Henry. For though they strive, obviously, by their epithets, to blacken him; yet, instead of charging this murder upon him, they expressly impute it to Edward IV. Their words are, that Henry, 'in miseranda fata concesserat *jussu Edwardi*, tunc Angliæ regis.' Ib.

<sup>99</sup> Rous, 216.



king service, in all places in the kingdom, whether cathedrals, colleges, chapels, monasteries, or any other franchised places, except Windsor<sup>100</sup>." Such an arbitrary order as this, may show his passion for this fascinating art, but must have offended wherever it was executed. He was visited by minstrels from foreign countries, and to several other minstrels he gave annuities<sup>101</sup>; and also, perhaps, from his fondness for their sonorous state music, to several trumpeters<sup>102</sup>.

Falconry and hawking appear to have been favorite pastimes to him. There is a grant to the master of the king's hawks, and the keeper of the mews near Charing Cross<sup>103</sup>; and he issued a commission to take at reasonable price, such goshawks, tarcells, falcons, lanerettes and other hawks, as could be gotten in Wales or its marches, as should be necessary for the king's disports<sup>104</sup>. A similar warrant was applied to the same object in England<sup>105</sup>; he dispatched a person to parts beyond the sea, to purvey hawks for him<sup>106</sup>; and he had a serjeant of the falcons in England<sup>107</sup>.

Hunting was also his amusement; we find his

<sup>100</sup> Harl. MS. p. 189.

<sup>101</sup> As, to Robert Green, minstrel, ten marks: the same to J. Hawkyngs. Harl. MS. p. 46. Two minstrels had come from the duke of Austria, p. 190; and two from the duke of Bavaria, p. 210.

<sup>102</sup> Three of them are mentioned, to each of whom he gave a yearly payment of ten marks. Harl. MS. p. 78, 96, 104.

<sup>103</sup> Harl. MS. p. 53.

<sup>104</sup> Ib. p. 214. It is dated 27 March 1485.

<sup>105</sup> Dated at Westminster, 8 March 1485. Ib.

<sup>106</sup> Dated 11 March. Ib.

<sup>107</sup> The grant of this is in the same MS. p. 103.

payments to a knight, the master of his hart-hounds, and a regular establishment of dogs and servants<sup>108</sup>; and persons were restrained from hunting in the park of Sheynsham, in Worcestershire, without special leave; because the king desired to have this park replenished with game, and kept for his disport against his resorting into those parts<sup>109</sup>.

Besides these amusements, less refined pleasures sometimes interested his notice; for there is a letter to all the mayors and sheriffs of the island, commanding them not to vex or molest John Browne, whom he calls, "our trusty servant and bear-ward;" and whom he says, "we have made master-guider and ruler of all *our bears and apes*, to us appertaining," within England and Wales; he speaks of them in the phrases of strong attachment<sup>110</sup>.

He was commended by a contemporary, for his encouragement of ARCHITECTURE<sup>111</sup>; and there are many of his grants which prove his attention to it.

<sup>108</sup> Harl. MS. p. 195. The appointments were, 12 *d.* a day for himself; 7½ *d.* a day for a servant; 8 *d.* for two yeoman riders; 4 *d.* for two yeomen vantrers; 8 *d.* for two yeomen on foot; 6 *d.* for two grooms; and 6½ *d.* a day for the keeping and expense of two horses, in the said office; and 3 *s.* 4 *d.* for the meat of forty dogs and twelve greyhounds. MS. p. 49.

<sup>109</sup> P. 178.

<sup>110</sup> Ib. p. 139. It is dated 6 Jan. 1484. He adds a charge, that no one 'unquiet, vex, or trouble him or his servants, keepers of our said bears and apes; but to him, and the keepers of *our said game*, for *our* pleasure, ye show loving benevolence and favor, and them courteously receive and intreat; to you reasonable money paying; and not suffering any manner of person, in that ye goodly may, otherwise to vex, molest, or grieve them.'

<sup>111</sup> Rous refers to Westminster, Nottingham, Warwick, York, Middleham, and other places, as justifying his epithets, 'in edificiis laudandus.' p. 216.

His works in the Tower<sup>112</sup>, and at Windsor castle<sup>113</sup>, and in the palace of Westminster<sup>114</sup>, at Barnard castle, at a palace in London, called The Ewer; at the castles of Killingworth, Rockingham, Sudely, Nottingham, Tutbury, Somerhall and York<sup>115</sup>; and in his palace at the latter city<sup>116</sup>; a stone cross at Brecon, a bridge in Somerset, churches at King's college, Cambridge<sup>117</sup>; and in Wales, are also noticed. Nor did he spare trouble and expense to procure the best materials; for there is a licence to a person to go to France and Normandy, and to buy there, for the king, certain tons of Caen stone, and also plaster and glass for his works<sup>118</sup>. But he pursued his taste with the full exertion of the royal authority as then claimed; for he signed a warrant to take up all artificers, stuff, and carriages, as should be necessary for the furtherance and accomplishment of the works at York castle<sup>119</sup>.

Foreign trade experienced his attention and protection. The merchants of Italy and the Hanse towns had their privileges confirmed<sup>120</sup>. Several

His attention to trade.

<sup>112</sup> His warrant for those, was to his serjeant carpenter, *to take* carpenter's timber, &c. for the hasty speed of his works there. MS. p. 227.

<sup>113</sup> Ib. 211.

<sup>114</sup> Ib. 204. This warrant is dated 17 Dec. 1484. It was, therefore, distinct from his fortifications there.

<sup>115</sup> Ib. 175, 187, 190, 192, 193, 203, 207, 218.

<sup>116</sup> Ib. 179.

<sup>117</sup> Ib. 190, 209, 210.

<sup>118</sup> Ib. 213.

<sup>119</sup> Ib. 187. He had, before this warrant, authorized the dean of York and Ratcliffe 'to take all manner of workmen and stuff, for the hasty expedition of his works. Ib. 183. There are several of these peremptory, and, as they would now be, arbitrary and illegal orders.

<sup>120</sup> Ib. 85.

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

foreigners were made denizens<sup>121</sup>. One merchant received a gift of 40*l.* in alleviation of the losses he had suffered<sup>122</sup>. Leave was given to transport wool beyond the straits of Morocco<sup>123</sup>. The Spanish procurator of Biscay, had such confidence in his stability, as to covenant to pay him 1,600*l.* in eight years<sup>124</sup>; and appears to have advanced him so much money as to have a warrant to receive 8,000 crowns of gold from the customs on imported Spanish goods<sup>125</sup>. He confirmed to the foreign manufacturers of cloths, the liberty of dwelling in Wales, Ireland, or England<sup>126</sup>; but compelled foreign importers to sell their goods wholesale, and if not disposed of within a certain time, to take them out of the country<sup>127</sup>. The merchants of Spain appear to have had many transactions with him<sup>128</sup>.

<sup>121</sup> A goldsmith of East Friesland, p. 28; three Dutchmen, 28, 34, 56; a booker of Florence, 74; other persons, 36, &c. It is curious, that a Welshman was then deemed, in law, so much an alien foreigner, as to be made a denizen. MS. p. 85.

<sup>122</sup> Ib. 101.

<sup>123</sup> Ib. 104. From Venice, there is an entry of 11,000 bow-staves, and another of 7,000, and afterwards of 185,000. Ib. p. 71.

<sup>124</sup> Ib. p. 100.

<sup>125</sup> Ib.

<sup>126</sup> Ib. 65.

<sup>127</sup> Stat. of Realm, V. 2.

<sup>128</sup> The substance of two documents in the Harl. MS. implies this. One is, that ‘Petre de Salamanca, Petre de Valiadolet, Diego de Castro, Sancio de Valinafedo, Fernando de Carion, Johan Pardo, Diego de Cadago, Alfonso de Lyon, Martino de Cordova, Gonsalo de Salamanca, merchants of Spain, should have 200*l.* of the customs and subsidies coming of whatsoever clothes, grayned or ungrayned, and of other merchandizes whatsoever, by them charged in the port of London, or elsewhere in England.’ p. 76. The other directs, that ‘Petre Salamanca, Sanchei de Valmazeda, Johan Pardo, Diego de Cadagna, Fernand de Carrion, Martyn de Ordogna, Diego de Castro, Peter de Valdsliyt, and Martyn de Malverda, have license to perceeve

Several licences were granted for ships to sail to Iceland; this volcanic rock of snow and ice above, and fire below, seems to have been much frequented in Richard's time, and to have drawn his particular attention, though licences were required for the voyages and their freights<sup>129</sup>.

400 marks of the customs and subsidies, coming of all manner of woollen cloths, grayned or ungrayned; of lede, tynne, alum, wyne, yron, to be shipped in the ports of London and Southampton.' p. 99.

<sup>129</sup> One licence is, to a name like that of Jane Shore's husband. 'William Shore, merchant of London, and Robert Chapman, of Kingston-upon-Hull, have a licence to pass to Island, with two shippes of the portage of iiii 'tonnes. The licence during a year.' p. 88. A fuller account of two others will give an idea of the intercourse allowed to this place.

'To all owners, masters, and mariners of the navye of the countie of Norfolk, and Suffolke, as well fishers as others intending to depart to the ports of Island :

'As we understand, that certain of you intend hastily to depart towards Island, not purveyed of waught for your surety in that behalve, We charge you, that none of you depart out of any of the havens of this our realm, without our licence; and that you gather and assemble you, in such of our havens of Norfolk and Suffolke as ye shall think most convenient, well harnysed and apparelyd, for your own suretie; and so depart altogether toward Humber, to attend there upon our ships of Hull, as your waughters for the surety of you all; and that you keep together.

23 Feb. Anno 1.'

159.

'To all merchants, fishermen, masters, mariners, and other our subjects, now being in the parties of Island. We have granted and commanded William Combreshall, captain of our ship named the Elizabeth, to depart with the same towards you, and to be your conveyor and master, to such place as he shall think convenient, as well for your suretie as for other great causes. We will that ye dispose you to be ordered and guided by him, and in no wise to depart from him, unto such time as the whole fleet of you shall come to anchor, and meet with others of our armye now being upon the sea, on pain of forfeiting your ships and goods.

6 July. A° 2°.'

180.



## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

Weak in body, afflicted by sickness, but powerful in mind, it was on that mind Richard necessarily relied; and by exerting the faculties, which he felt to be vigorous within him, he endeavored to accomplish all he wished. In personal strength he could not compete with his enemies. This was a gift of nature, and of its author, which was not subject to his command. But his reason, his conceptions, his resolution, his power of foreseeing, combining and deciding thought; his quickness to act and his energy of action; these were within the compass of his own power, and obedient to his ambitious and aspiring soul. Hence, the infirmities of the exterior man, made his interior spirit more essential to his use, and more precious in his estimation. He felt that he towered in mind, though he had not the advantage of body; and when he added to it the authority and means of royal power, he was delighted to exert acquisitions, in which he knew that he surpassed all surrounding competition.

Hence flowed what one author calls his horrible vigilance and celerity<sup>130</sup>, because his intellect always rushed to anticipating and decisive energies. Hence, a contemporary also gives to this quality and habit of action, the epithet of excessive<sup>131</sup>. He was too rapid, too decisive, too violent, too impatient. He struck before others saw the emerging danger, or felt the necessity of the precautionary rigor. His brother's error had been careless negligence; and his fault was a preventive activity, which was misconstrued to be remorseless tyranny. By leaving nothing undone that could be done, he was always

<sup>130</sup> Pol. Virg. 552.<sup>131</sup> 'Nimis.' Croyl.

doing too much for his own quiet, or for the approbation of his contemporaries. Every one dreaded a perspicacity and a precipitation, which left no time for recollecting repentance, and no hope of mercy. His little habit, deemed so horrible, of always playing, or we may say, fidgetting with his dagger, pulling it continually half in and out with his right hand<sup>132</sup>, was but a mark of a restless impatience of spirit, which could not even let its fingers be quiet. It is unnecessary to ascribe it to any ferocious nature; the mildest men have many unmeaning habits of such moving dumb-show.

Richard would have reigned more happily, with less talent, or with greater apathy<sup>133</sup>. It is oftener the safest wisdom to leave the course of things to their own results, and to make their own remedies, than by anticipating or precipitating measures, to attempt to control them, or to prevent those consequences which we dread or dislike. Many apprehended evils never occur, and many that are produced, disappear of themselves, which hasty or too precautionary interference only aggravate or change into worse. But Richard was too prone to think, that human vigilance could not be too active and foreseeing; nor the exertions of human policy too immediate, vigorous, and decisive. Hence, he tended to out-run the tardier perceptions of his friends; and created alarm instead of security, dread

<sup>132</sup> Pol. Virg. 565.

<sup>133</sup> The proclamation of Perkin Warbeck, being addressed to popular feeling, may be considered as expressing the general estimate of Richard's reign. "Though desire of rule did bind him, yet, in his other actions, he was noble; and loved the honour of the realm, and the contentment and comfort of his nobles and people." Bacon's Hist. p. 615.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

instead of attachments, and the desire of a less wakeful and strenuous master, instead of that confiding regard and personal affection which he coveted, and by which alone he could be secure. The more he punished, the more he found he had to punish; till he diffused an indifference to his government, and a secret approbation of the plans of others to have a milder dynasty. He did not wait to let time do, imperceptibly and inoffensively, much of what he wished to have done; and his forcing violence exasperated his contemporaries, and ruined himself<sup>134</sup>.

Whether  
Columbus  
was in  
Richard's  
service.

<sup>134</sup> Some grants of Richard in the Harl. MS. N° 433, have induced me to consider whether they related to the celebrated Columbus. I cannot satisfy myself that they do, and yet the possibility is so interesting, that I think it right to note the facts on which that surmise occurred, and leave them to the chance of future confirmation or refutation. If he be the person alluded to, some other documents may occur to some future enquirer, that will elucidate the point; or others may show that they do not concern him.

Observing some grants to Christopher Colyns, I thought they meant the common name of Collins, and passed them over. But remembering that the name with which Columbus chose to go into Spain, was Christopher Colon; and seeing, in the same MS., deacon spelt dekyn, as in p. 238, and Cologne, Coleyn, p. 196; and that Caxton spells this town Colen, (Dest. Troy, 2nd. p. 134.) I could not avoid asking myself, if this Christopher Colyns could have been but a varying orthography for Christopher Colon. Names and words are frequently spelt in the MS. with as much variation, as Tyddor for Tudor; Raufie for Ralph, Herry for Henry, Wolstre for Ulster, werre for war, &c. If these grants related to Columbus, they would show that he was appointed the constable or military commandant of the castle of Queenborough, in the isle of Shepey, 1484 and 1485. That Richard had given him a ship, and also an annuity of 100*l.* and that he had been active in repairing Queenborough castle, one of the points of the coast which were guarded against Richmond's invasion, and that

he had paid some soldiers at our foreign castle of Guynes, on the French coast, and that he had money given him for his habiliments of war, and was commander of the Shepey castle in April 1485.

My first inquiry was, whether any thing that was known of the life of Columbus, contradicted the surmise. He was born, according to some, in 1442, according to others in 1447. He says of himself, in the memorandum (printed in Churchill's and also in Kerr's voyages,) 'In February 1467, I sailed 100 leagues beyond Iceland. To this island, which is as large as England, the English carry on trade, especially from the port of Bristol.' This passage shows, that he was in our seas seventeen years before the time of the grant; and in another place, he implies, that at some time he had been in England, for he says, as quoted by his son, 'I had seen all the countries of the east and west, and towards the north, especially England.' No account mentions at what period he was in England, or how long he stayed in it; but he mentions it elsewhere, as if it was a place that he was well acquainted with. Thus speaking of one of his discovered islands, he says, 'It is larger than England and Scotland together.'

I have not seen any account of the movements or stations of Columbus from 1467 to 1485. His son remarks, that he has no perfect knowledge of his father's early years. 'I was so young at his death, that owing to filial respect, I had not boldness to ask an account from him, of the incidents of his youth; besides, I was not then interested in such inquiries.'

His son mentions, that Colon or Columbus, in one place of his writings, says, that he had been at sea twenty-three years, without being on shore for any length of time; and in another part, that he went first to sea at fourteen years of age. But whether he was born in 1442 or 1447, these passages are not inconsistent with his being one or two years on shore in England, in 1484 and 1485.

That Columbus fought, as well as navigated, is evident from two facts. In a letter, written in 1495, he mentions, that he was formerly sent to Tunis, by king Reynier, to take the galeasse called Fernandina; and at another time, his son states, that he entered into the service of a famous captain of his own name, who commanded a fleet against the infidels, and in his service attacked four large Venetian gallies; but his vessel taking fire, he leapt into the sea, and swam to the shore near Lisbon. He might, therefore, have been taken into Richard's service, to command an English fort on the sea coast, and to defend the maritime castle

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

of Guynes, on the French shore, which often had foreign soldiers as part of its garrison.

The acknowledged poverty of his parents, must have made his life that of an adventurer, seeking service and employment where he could get them; and as Richard, being threatened by Richmond's invasion, and not knowing where he would land, was obliged to keep every accessible point watched and fortified, it was natural for him to retain and use an active and experienced foreigner. Such persons were likely to be more trusty to him than many of his own subjects. He had several foreigners in his service, and may have had Christopher Colon. Cabot, who discovered Newfoundland, came from Venice to settle in England, at that time.

That there was one foreigner here, at that time, of the name of Colyn, appears from another entry in the same MS. It is this: 'Herne Colyn hath a letter of passage, to passe unto the duc of Burgoyne, and to convey thether an hobyie; and John le Heure, with another hoby.' West. 4 March, An<sup>o</sup> 2<sup>o</sup> (1485.) p. 210.

The son of Columbus says, that his father assumed or revived the name of Colon to himself, and caused himself to be so called in Spain. He may, therefore, have also been so named in England. His Italian life calls him Colon.

His son states, that he went to Lisbon, and taught his brother Bartholomew to construct sea charts, globes, and nautical instruments; and sent this brother to England to Henry VII. to make proposals to this king, of his desired voyage. He presented to Henry a map of the world, with a latin inscription, dating his application, 13 February 1488.

Although the Latin lines clearly mention 1488, in these words, yet both in some English and Italian translations, the date is printed 1480; and 1484 mentioned as the year when his brother returned to him. It is so in the Italian life, c. 12, p. 63. This is a mistake. Bartholomew's return must have been after 1488, and seems to be more rightly placed, by Hackluyt, in 1494.

His son says, that his wife being dead, he resolved to go to Castile; but lest the king of Castile might not consent to his proposal, he dispatched his brother Bartholomew from Lisbon to England. This would date his going into Spain, some time before February 1488; but, as the year was then reckoned, in England, to begin from the 25th of March, it is probable, that Bartholomew's date of the 13th of February 1488, was in reality, 1489.



If he was the Christopher Colyns that was Richard's governor of Queenborough castle, he may have quitted England in 1485, after Richard's fall. To have been rewarded with an annuity of 100 *l.* a year, he must have done this king some essential services; and having been appointed to defend the isle of Shepey, and therefore the Medway, against Henry, he may have been dismissed, on the accession of this prince, in August 1485, which allows sufficient time for his being afterwards at Lisbon. He did not sail on his first great voyage, till August 1492. The act of resumption of all Richard's grants, which was passed in November 1485, (6 Rolls Parl. p. 336—84) would annul the annuity to this Christopher Colyns, and thus leave him unprovided. His name is not among those who were exempted from the deprivation.

Having thus shown, that the facts known of Colon, or Columbus, do not contradict the application to him of Richard's grants, I will cite them as they occur in the Harleian MS., and leave it to the reader to dispose of the supposition as he shall think fit.

1. 'Christofre Colyns hath the ship called the Barbara, of Fowey, which was taken with staple ware, and forfeauted, given to him of the king's rewarde.' 94.

2. 'Christofre Colyns hath a privie seale to sir Thomas Thwayt, tresourer of Calais, to content him 20 *l.* which he delivered William Bolton, to content certain souldiours in Guysnes.' Ib.

3. 'Christofre Colyns hath a privie seale to the treasurer and chamberlaine, to content unto him 128 *l.* 4 *s.* 2 *d.* in redy money; and make unto him assignment of the same, by the said Christofre paid for the wages of 200 men.' 100.

4. 'Christofre Colyns hath a warrant, directed to the sheriff and escheator of Kent, charging them to deliver unto him, or the bringer thereof, as muche tymbre to be taken out of the fielde called Huntynghdon fielde, beside Feversham, as his workmen shall think will serve for fence grattes, and the posts of a drawbridge, at the castell of Quenesburgh; and for the flores in the porter's lodge there; and also for an axiltre for a mille. Given the 16th day of February, an. 2°.' 207.

5. 'A commission to al maires and others, showing, that Christofir Colyns, constable of the castell of Quynsburgh, or William Constable, his brother, hath auctoritie and power to take masons, stones, carcasses, tylers and dawbers, vessails, and othre necessities for the works in the said castell. Given at Lond. the 10th of April, an. 2°.' 212.

6. 'Christofre Colyns hath a warrant to the treasurer and

chamberlayn of the exchequer, to make assignment unto him, by taille or tailles, in due form, at the receipt of the exchequer, to him and Thomas Cotton, as collector of the subsidie in London, of the some of 3*l.* appointed to the said Cristofre for his reward, and 27*l.* for his habiliments of warre, &c.' 63. 'Christofer Colyns, th' office of constable of the castell of Queneburgh, and the mylne to the said castle adjoining, during his life, with the wages of 20 marks yearely, to be perceived of the issues of the countie of Essex and Hertford, by the hands of the sheriff.' 74.

7. 'Cristofre Colyns, squier, an annuytie of 100*l.* fro Estre, an<sup>o</sup> primo, to the ende and terme of 20 years, of the subsidie of 3*s.* per ton, and 12*d.* per lb. &c. in the port of London.' 76.

The brother mentioned in the fifth, must have been a brother by his marriage with Colyns' sister, or Colyns with his sister.

#### ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Since the preceding remarks were published, Historical Memoirs of Columbus, by D. G. B. Sportono, of Genoa, have appeared, with an Appendix of original documents. I have examined in these to discover if they contained any thing to disprove or confirm the surmise that this celebrated man was in the service of Richard III. They exhibit no documents that invalidate the supposition. They state that he was born at Genoa in 1446 or 1447; that his father, Dominico, was a wool-carder; that Columbus learnt reading, writing and arithmetic, and the occupation of carding wool there, and at fourteen went to sea. That he became captain of a ship of war, in the service of René d'Anjeir, the ex-king of Naples, and about 1475 commanded a squadron of Genoese ships and gallies; that his name stands registered in a book of losses by sea, in the year 1476; that he went to Lisbon; that in February 1477 (not 1467) he was on the voyage beyond Iceland; that he undertook several other voyages, especially to Guinea, to England, and to the Islands possessed by Spain and Portugal, in the Western Ocean, and married at Lisbon, and that his proposal to Genoa for his voyage of discovery, was probably made in 1477, before he went on his Iceland voyage.

I do not find any documents that state what he did from 1483 to 1485; but he says, in a letter to the king and queen of Spain, 'To serve your highnesses, I was not inclined to involve myself with France, or with England, or with Portugal.' p. xxxiii. The natural sense of this seems to be, that he did not apply to either

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

99

CHAP.  
II.

REIGN OF  
RICH. III.

of these Powers to undertake his voyage, *before* he offered himself to the court of Spain ; if he had so applied, how could this assertion be true ? But the true date of his first application to the court of Spain, we have in his own letter to the nurse of the prince Don John, written when he arrived in 1500 as a prisoner ; for, in mentioning it, he says that all were incredulous, but that the queen supported him. He adds, ‘ *Seven years were passed in treaty, and nine in execution.*’ p. 224. Now he sailed on his voyage 3d August 1492, and his agreement for it with Ferdinand was signed 17 April 1492. Therefore seven years of treaty would make his first application to have been in 1485 ; which was the year that he must have left England on Richard’s fall. Hence this date suits the surmise that he had served Richard as Christofre Colyns. It also accords with that person’s acting as a military commandant for Richard, that Columbus says of himself, ‘ I ought to be judged as a *captain*, who for a *length of time*, up to this very day, *have borne arms*, without ever quitting them, and by *real warriors such as myself*, and not by lawyers.’ Memorial of Columbus, p. 239. During the seven years that he was soliciting Spain, between 1485 and 1492, he went to France himself, and sent his brother, Bartholomew, to England, who presented to Henry VII. the map dated 13 February 1488. p. xliii.

The whole effect of the above facts is rather favorable than otherwise to the possibility that he was the Christofre Colyns, whom Richard III. appointed his constable of the castle of Queenborough.

## C H A P. III.

*The Reign of Henry VII.*

1485—1509.

BOOK  
I.  
1470.

THIS prince had never been in London since that boyish age in which Henry VI. had mentioned, that he would have the crown they were fighting for<sup>1</sup>. This remark of his maternal uncle may have arisen from the good king's perception, of the Lancastrian line having then no nearer heir, after his own; and from his belief, or wish, that the York family might not be permanently successful<sup>2</sup>. It indicates how early the eyes of the Lancastrian party were turned to Richmond; and how far men, at that time, looked forward to the possibilities of the future accessions. This seems to have been a favorite, although a dangerous subject of their political speculations.

<sup>1</sup> This circumstance is mentioned by Henry's earliest biographer, Bernard Andreas, p. 136. His work is in MS. in the Cotton. library, Domit. XVIII. All the chroniclers allude to it. Andreas intimates, also, that the duke of Bretagne had heard, from others, that Richmond would reign, p. 140; which shows, that Henry's remark had fixed the public eye early on him. Perhaps Henry had meant, in case of his own son's death, to have appointed the earl his successor; and, from this feeling, uttered the prognostication alluded to. Henry VII. himself countenanced and circulated it.

<sup>2</sup> It is not improbable, that when the duke of York claimed to be the heir to the crown, before the birth of Henry's son, the secret politics of the Lancastrian court, in their extreme enmity to their rivals, may have projected the setting up of Richmond, from his maternal relation to the crown, as the antagonist interest.

His grandfather, Owen Tudor, a private Welsh gentleman, in the service of the widow of Henry v. had married her; and had been imprisoned for that marriage, in Newgate, and at Wallingford castle<sup>3</sup>. This French lady survived her self-degrading nuptials only nine years<sup>4</sup>; but in that time had three sons, of whom the youngest became a monk; the second was Jasper, the indefatigable earl of Pembroke; and the third, Edmund, whom Henry vi. created earl of Richmond<sup>5</sup>, and who, marrying Margaret, the heiress of the Somerset line, then only ten years old<sup>6</sup>, died himself at the age of twenty-five<sup>7</sup>; leaving one son, Henry, whom the events, already recorded, raised to be the founder of a new dynasty on the English throne.

Henry VII. was born at Pembroke castle, in 1456, a few months before his father died. His infancy

Born in  
1456.

<sup>3</sup> Rym. Fæd. 10, p. 686. He is there called, Owen ap Tedyr; but, in another document, he is named Meredith ap Tydier. Ib. 828.

<sup>4</sup> She had married Owen in 1428; she died in 1437. Rym. Fæd. 10, p. 662. On 4 January, Feb. 433.

<sup>5</sup> He was made so in March 1453. Rolls Parl. 5, p. 250—4. In 1436, we find Edmund, and his brother Jasper, under the care of the abbess of Berkyng, from 27 July 1437 to 28 February 1439, for which she was paid 17*l.* and afterwards to November 1441, for 52*l.* 12*s.* more. Rym. Fæd. 10, p. 828.

<sup>6</sup> Holling. p. 678, who mentions her, at that age, to have become Richmond's mother. This is hardly credible; yet her funeral sermon states, that Henry vi. procured her marriage with his maternal brother, when she was only nine years old. p. 8. The duke of Suffolk wanted her for his son. Ib.

<sup>7</sup> He died the 3d of November, in 1456, and was buried at St. David's, leaving his son Henry VII. but fifteen weeks old. Inquis. ap. Dugd. Bat. 2, p. 237. This would place Henry's birth in July 1456; so that he was not quite four years younger than Richard III.



BOOK  
I.REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

1470.

was sickly<sup>8</sup>; but he was carefully nursed by his mother, a child herself. He was afterwards committed by Edward IV. to the care of the lady of sir William Herbert, to be educated in a state of friendly and liberal custody; and he owed to her the foundation of his manly accomplishments<sup>9</sup>. The best instructors were provided for him; his mind was active, and his improvement rapid<sup>10</sup>. He acquired that attachment to religion which never left him; and his behaviour was interesting. Herbert falling in 1470, at Banbury, Jasper, the prince's uncle, during the short restoration of Henry VI. obtained possession of his person, and carrying him to London, introduced him to the king, who was pleased with his countenance, and expressed the idea of his possible elevation<sup>11</sup>. The battle of Tewkesbury compelling Jasper to fly, he thought it prudent, that Henry, then in his fifteenth year, should leave the country with him<sup>12</sup>. His mother suggested, that Wales had many castles in which he could be safe; but his uncle advised her not to take the chance, as his life would be aimed at; and promised to regard him as his son<sup>13</sup>. The observation of Henry VI. had made him a mark of dangerous attention, and she

<sup>8</sup> 'In tenella ætate sæpe valetudinarius fuit.' Bern. And. MS. p. 134. He was born, according to this author, on St. Agnes' day, which was the 21st of January. This makes him six months older than the Inquisition mentioned in Dugdale.

<sup>9</sup> Pol. Virg. 522. 'Well and honorably educated, and in all kind of civility brought up, by the lady Herbert.' Hall, 287.

<sup>10</sup> B. Andreas says, that he was told by Andreas Scot, of Oxford, Henry's preceptor, that he never heard a boy of that age so capable and so quick in learning. MS. ib. 135.

<sup>11</sup> Pol. V. 522. Hall, 287.

<sup>12</sup> Bern. And. MS. 136—40.

<sup>13</sup> Pol. V. 531.

assented to his temporary exile. Jasper meant to have made France his asylum, as Henry's grandmother had been the sister of the French king's father; but a storm driving them on Bretagne, the duke received them courteously, yet detained them. Here they remained above twelve years, as actual prisoners, but kindly treated<sup>14</sup>. The efforts of Edward IV. to get them within his power, had the effect of making the duke more vigilant in watching them; but also more alive to the policy of keeping them in his dominions.

It was extraordinary, that the proud nobility of England should choose for their sovereign a young man so unknown to Englishmen, and whose paternal ancestry was so obscure. But their party feelings urging them to oppose the throne, and their safety requiring a leader of some nominal pretensions at least, they sacrificed their inveterate prejudices of birth to political expediency; and, perhaps, they thought they could govern, more easily, a king who would owe his crown, not to legal right, but to their selection and support. Hence, they combined in his favor against Richard; and allowed Stanley to put the crown on his head, in the field of Bosworth.

Resting two days at Leicester, after this victory, to settle his immediate measures, Henry sent a proclamation, as king, into York, to inform its citizens of Richard's death<sup>15</sup>; and that no one might set up

1485,  
August.

<sup>14</sup> Comines, V. 1, p. 514, who adds, 'The earl of Richmond told me, that, from the time he was five years old, he had been always a fugitive or a prisoner. I was at the court of the duke Francis at the time they were seized, and the duke treated them very handsomely for prisoners.' *Ib.*

<sup>15</sup> See it in Drake's *Ebor.* p. 122.

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.  
1485.

the young earl Warwick, the son of the late duke of Clarence, and the next heir to the throne, if Edward's daughters, who had been incapacitated, were passed by, their leader and his competitor for the throne, he ordered sir Robert Willoughby to take him from Sheriff's Hutton castle in Yorkshire, and to lodge him, then an unbefriended lad of fifteen, in the ominous Tower of London<sup>16</sup>. Henry advanced to the metropolis by easy journeys, amid much popular applause. The feelings of the country were sufficiently divided, to ensure to every successful leader a satisfying quantity of public acclamations. As he approached London, he was met by the city authorities, with the usual gratulations, in their usual costume. They had been liberal of these, to all the chiefs who had approached them from the field of victory. The peers greeted him at Shoreditch. He entered in a close chariot<sup>17</sup>, which was not liked; but he may have thought it necessary for his safety. He went to St. Paul's Church, offered his three standards<sup>18</sup>, and joined in the *Te Deum*; and took up his first residence, like Edward V. in the Bishop's palace. While he rested there, plays, pastimes and pleasures, were exhibited in every part of the city; and on the 30th of October, he proceeded in great state to Westminster, and was crowned<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Pol. Virg. 565. Graft. 853.

<sup>17</sup> Bacon. B. Andreas says, 'latenter.' MS.

<sup>18</sup> Graft. 854. One had the image of St. George. In the second was a fiery dragon, beaten upon white and green sarsenet. The third had a dun cow, painted on yellow tarterne. Ib.

<sup>19</sup> Graft. 854, 5. B. Andreas gives Elizabeth a pretty speech on Henry's successes, which Speed has translated in his history, p. 741; but which it is not likely the royal biographer could

It was amid many circumstances connected with his future inquietude, that Henry came to his throne. A stranger to most of those who had crowned him, except from the short acquaintance of the last few hurried days, he could not but perceive, that they had exalted him by ungratefully abandoning a liberal master, whom they had dethroned and killed. Like Richard, he had to reign among conflicting interests, in a stormy age of new opinions, and over an aristocracy both humorsome and dictatorial; jealous of privileges, which the welfare of the increasing population required to be abated; easily affronted; and whose resentment, the depositions and fate of four sovereigns had shown to be most deadly. What security could he obtain for their continuing fidelity; and how must he shape his conduct to escape those rebellions and evils, which had pursued the throne of England from the accession of Richard II. to the downfall of his late namesake?

The errors of the last king pointed out many things that were to be avoided. But, as all the contending interests which had been agitating the country since the reign of Henry V. continued still subsisting and unappeased, it was a natural impossibility that his reign could be long tranquil, or universally or permanently popular. Whichever way he moved, he, like the reprobated Richard, must dissatisfy many. New enemies would start up, from impatient selfishness, every year of his reign; and no wisdom or virtue could save him either from abuse or hostility. Happily, however, for our comfort, hope is more active than foresight; and the tempests that are have heard, though he was present at Henry's entrance into the metropolis.

BOOK  
I.REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

1485.

to afflict us, are rarely believed possible till their ravages are felt. The king trod warily, and had a naturalized equanimity of temper, and a magnanimity of mind, which, being unconquerable by adversity, kept him from either exciting or deserving it.

His two first objects were, to obtain a parliamentary sanction for his crown, and to reward his friends. The parliament met in September. The bishop who had been preceptor to Edward V. opened it with a speech, which, quoting both Ovid and the Bible, assured the nation, that a golden age was coming to it under their new Joshua, who would strive with all his might to extirpate or amend the wicked; and ended with exhorting the land to hail him as the Jews did their Solomon, with "God save the king!" "May the king live for ever!"<sup>20</sup> The parliament first granted a subsidy, and then enacted the inheritance of the crown to be "in the most royal person of king Harry VII. and the heirs of his body, and on none other"<sup>21</sup>. The attainders of his friends were reversed<sup>22</sup>, and similar measures were retorted on the chief supporters of Richard<sup>23</sup>. A general amnesty

<sup>20</sup> Parl. Rolls, 6, p. 267.

<sup>21</sup> Ib. 268—70. This statute vested a new parliamentary right in his posterity, and took it away from Edward's line; for, if Elizabeth had died childless, this act fixed it in Henry's issue by any other wife.

<sup>22</sup> Ib. 273. As the king himself had been attainted, it was consulted, by the judges, what was to be done in this respect. They unanimously agreed, 'That the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood; and that, from the time the king assumed the crown, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruptions of blood discharged.' But the records of the attainders against him were ordered, by parliament, to be destroyed. Bacon's Hist. 581.

<sup>23</sup> Parl. Rolls, p. 275—8. The attainders of Richard's supporters were much censured, as these gentlemen were obliged to



was then wisely proclaimed to all others who should submit themselves, and swear fealty within forty days. A great number came from their sanctuaries, and accepted the offered grace<sup>24</sup>. He made his uncle Pembroke, duke of Bedford; and Stanley, earl Derby; and Chandos, a gentleman of Bretagne, earl of Bath. He raised sir Giles Daubeney and Willoughby to the baronial peerage; and restored Buckingham's eldest son to his father's dukedom and possessions. He named a numerous privy council from his most valued or important adherents; but, though kind to them all, he selected those to be his confidential ministers and friends, who had been his earliest and most continuous assistants and advisers<sup>25</sup>. They who had served Richard, and at last betrayed him, were rather rewarded than trusted by Henry; and it was probably from this reason, that lord Stanley, while allowed to remain constable of England, was not placed in his household, nor much befriended, though, for the sake of his mother, the king occasionally visited him. The chamberlainship was presented to sir William, who had really given Henry the victory and the crown. Anxious to adopt such measures as should improve the kingdom, in laws, institutions and manners, he endeavoured to

obey his military summons, as king, on pain of forfeiting their own lands or lives. Croyl. 581.

<sup>24</sup> Pol. V. 566. Graft. 855. Stillington, the bishop who had assisted to make Edward V. illegitimate, was at first imprisoned at York, 'sore crased, by reason of his trouble.' Drake's Ebor. 123. But he obtained a pardon.

<sup>25</sup> Pol. Virg. 567. Bray, to whose activity and prudence Henry owed so much, was made sir Reginald, and appointed one of his privy council. Throughout his reign, Morton, Fox, Bray, and Daubeney, seem to have been his most trusted advisers.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

1485.

raise hopes in all, that a better order of things would be established, wherever the national welfare required the melioration<sup>26</sup>. He introduced a new means of personal safety, by appointing, like the king of France, a body guard of fifty archers<sup>27</sup>; and though he delayed his covenanted marriage with Elizabeth, perhaps deliberating on the policy of preferring the heiress of Bretagne, till the nation became uneasy; he yielded at length to the general desire of extinguishing all future civil wars of rival dynasty, by uniting her line with his own, in their marriage on the 18th of January 1486. Bonfires, dancing, songs, and banquets, pervaded the metropolis. It seemed the consummation of the nation's happiness<sup>28</sup>. She was beautiful and gentle. But whether from her previous conduct, or from more personal causes, than we can now discover, no cordial affection subsisted at first between her and Henry<sup>29</sup>. The king

<sup>26</sup> Pol. Virg. 567. Hall, 425. Graft. 857. It was at the end of autumn in this year, that the new kind of sickness came on in England, called The Sweating Sickness. It began with a burning perspiration, with such a violent heat in the head and stomach, that the sufferers could bear no clothes. It was very mortal; but they who survived and transpired for twenty four hours usually escaped. In eight days, two lord mayors and six aldermen became victims to it. Graft. 857, 8. Pol. V. 567, 8.

<sup>27</sup> Their name, 'yeomen of the guard,' was not new. The king was too wise, not to soften an obnoxious measure, by connecting it with existing titles. The novelty was, in the personal appropriation of them to the royal security, and in their fixed locality about his apartments. Their state effect has occasioned them to be continued in the dresses of their first institution.

<sup>28</sup> Bern. And. MS. Dom.

<sup>29</sup> Bacon, p. 582. Yet he settled on her a liberal dower (P. Rolls, V. 6); and seems to have become more attached to her, after she was separated from her mother, and had exhibited her own piety and maternal virtues.

sent for his two clerical friends Morton and Fox, in whom he placed the highest confidence<sup>39</sup>. Morton was appointed archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor; and Fox, a bishop and his privy seal.

It was the sanguine belief of the nation, that the union with Elizabeth, closed the fountain of all future factions. It would have done so, if the conflict had been merely a personal contest; but the contending leaders being the representatives of the continuing hostile interests, the materials of commotion continued ready to explode, whenever any new man of influence chose to become turbulent. Of these hostile interests, many became embodied in attachment to the York family; because Henry, having come forward on a Lancastrian title, all that opposed government inclined to favor the antagonist line.

The battle of Bosworth had destroyed the most distinguished adherents of Richard III. but left the animosity of his friends to the new sovereign, and his treacherous supporters, unabated. Yet the preceding tempests had swept away the men of most name and importance; and no person of active consequence existed at the moment of the new accession, disposed to resist the change, excepting lord Lovel. It has been seen that Catesby, by his dying will, recommended that this friend of Richard, should be taken into Henry's favor. Instead of using this policy, the king excepted him out of the general amnesty.

In the spring, Henry resolved, like Richard, to make a tour of popularity and policy to the northern

\* Morton was raised to the primacy on the death of cardinal Bouchier, (Pol. V. 575.) who was descended from Edward III. through his son Thomas, duke of Gloucester. Croyl. 581.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

1486.

counties<sup>31</sup>. As they cherished so warmly the memory of Richard, this visit had the appearance of danger; and Lovel thought it would enable him to avenge his fallen master. He left his sanctuary, and attempted a sudden insurrection against Henry<sup>32</sup>. The king, on horseback, nobly accompanied, proceeded by Waltham to Cambridge, where the University received him with honor; and passed on to Lincoln, where he kept his Easter, attending frequently at the cathedral during the solemnity. Turning off to Nottingham, he went, the next week, into Yorkshire, where the Stanleys took their leave of him; and he moved through Doncaster to Pomfret<sup>33</sup>. It was the plan of Lovel to destroy him by surprize. The king had heard, that he was exciting disturbance, and had disregarded the rumor; but as the stately train was advancing towards York, the rebels suddenly appeared about Rippon and Middleham<sup>34</sup>; and if Henry had not been, at this crisis, joined at Barnesdale, by the earl of Northumberland, "with a right, great, and noble company," Lovel might have effected his purpose. The king was almost intercepted, when the earl appeared<sup>35</sup>. He could only send, at the moment, against the insurgents, 3,000 men, several armed only with leather instead of mail, under the duke of Bedford. But this nobleman, on consulting with his knightly companions, deeming it adviseable to allure them to submission, without a conflict that must be doubtful,

<sup>31</sup> There is a full account of Henry's progresses, in the Harl. MS. N<sup>o</sup> 7,408. Hearne has printed the present one, from the pen of a spectator, in his *Leland's Collectanea*, V. 4, p. 185.

<sup>32</sup> Pol. Vir. 568.

<sup>33</sup> Hearne, p. 186.

<sup>34</sup> Ib. 187.

<sup>35</sup> So Croyland states, p. 582.

sent to them an offer of grace and pardon to all who would lay down their arms. As their plan of surprise had failed, and had not been seconded, and they were too few to wage a protracted war with the king, they accepted the judicious proposal; and Lovel withdrew, in the night, into Lancashire<sup>36</sup>, and afterwards sailed to Flanders to Margaret, the dowager duchess of Burgundy<sup>37</sup>, whose affection for her brother, Edward IV. led her to support all who chose to become inimical to Henry. The two Staffords, who had been co-operating with Lovel, were taken, and the elder one executed<sup>38</sup>.

The king, approaching York, was received, three miles from its gates, by the corporation and citizens on horseback; and near the walls by processions of friars; and within the city by the general assemblage from all the parish churches; the whole population vociferously acclaiming him<sup>39</sup>. Pageants of crowned kings and minstrels were ready with their long speeches; and Solomon, David, and the Virgin, were also conjured up to welcome him. His devout attendances at the minster, were followed by state banquets, that united the hearts of the subjects to their king; and he then crossed the country; and having, at Whitsun evening, reached Worcester, he visited Gloucester and Hereford, with the same congratulations from the municipal authorities, friars, clergy, and people; and from their oratorial

<sup>36</sup> Pol. Vir. 569.<sup>37</sup> Bacon, 582.<sup>38</sup> Pol. Vir. Grafton, 860. This was the Humphrey who had so actively assisted to surround Buckingham.<sup>39</sup> The popular cry of 'the mervellous great number of men, women, and children, on foote, was, 'king Henry! king Henry! Our Lord preserve that sweet and well-savoured face.' Hearne, 187.



pageants<sup>40</sup>, which so much delighted the emerging and simple literary taste of our ancestors. He paused awhile at Bristol, where the William Canyng<sup>41</sup> of our too early-flowering, and too impatient Chatterton, had then recently been mayor; and where some Rowley taught king Bremmuis at the town gate, and Prudence at the high cross, and Justice, with her maiden children, at St. John's, to address the king with humble good sense, though not with the poetry that breathes in Ella and Sir Charles<sup>42</sup>. The inventive genius of the city was displayed in pageants that were praised<sup>43</sup>; and the king, having conversed with the citizens to their hearts' delight<sup>44</sup>, returned

<sup>40</sup> All these our author describes with careful remembrance and visible pleasure. 188—201.

<sup>41</sup> This merchant is frequently mentioned in W. Wyrcestre's Itiner.

<sup>42</sup> See the speeches to Henry, in Hearne, 199—201. I have no doubt that Chatterton found much that was ancient; but like Macpherson with Ossian, he seems to have made his originals but themes for his own genius to compose upon, and has given us himself instead of his ancestors. It is a misfortune to the world, that he found any thing to excite his talents so prematurely, and to suggest their exertion in the path he chose.

<sup>43</sup> After mentioning that a baker's wife, in her joy, cast out of a window a great quantity of wheat, exclaiming, 'Welcome, and good luck!' the author adds, from his own taste, 'There was a pageant called The shipwright's pageant, with praty conceits pleying in the same; and a litel farther, an olifaunte, with a castle on his back, curiously wrought; and the resurrection in the highest tower of it, with certain imagery smiting bells. All went by weights, *merveolously wele done.*' p. 202.

<sup>44</sup> The king asked them 'the cause of their poverty; and they showed his grace, for the great loss of ships and goods within five years. The king comforted them, that they should set on and make new ships, and exercise their merchandize as they were wont to do; and he should so help them, by divers means, as he showed them.' The effect of his kind manners, the author adds,

to Sheen, visited by the nobles as he passed; and receiving, from the great towns and abbeys, complimentary presents of gold, silver, wine, beads, and mittins. The lord mayor of London, with all the city companies, in their barges, rowed up to Putney, to accompany him in state down the Thames to Westminster. At all the cities, the bishops read the pope's bull, declaring the king and queen's title to the crown<sup>45</sup>, the foundation for the anathemas of the church, that were subsequently issued against those who opposed it.

Henry soon afterwards visited Winchester, where his son Arthur was born<sup>46</sup>; whose christening was contemplated and provided for by the countess of Richmond, the king's mother, with a ceremonial solicitude<sup>47</sup>, and was afterwards performed with a deliberate pomp<sup>48</sup>, which show how fondly the age was attached to the dramatic parade, as well as the happy directress<sup>49</sup>.

'The mayor of the town told me, they heard not, this hundred years, of no king so good a comfort; wherefore they thanked Almighty God, that had sent them so good and gracious a sovereign lord.' Hearne, p. 202.

<sup>45</sup> Hearne, 200—3.

<sup>46</sup> On St. Eustachius' day. *Ib.* 204. In September 1486. Speed, 742. Our venerable chronicler was absurd enough to say, on the prince being christened Arthur, 'of which name outward nations and foreign princes trembled and quaked, so much was that name to all terrible and fearful.' Graft. p. 860. So Hall, 428. They forgot that the Arthur of romance was not the Arthur of history.

<sup>47</sup> His minute preparatory ordinances, from the Harl. MS. N<sup>o</sup> 6,079, are printed by Hearne, p. 179.

<sup>48</sup> Hearne has also printed the full detail of this stately baptism, and the consequent festivities, 204—8.

<sup>49</sup> This lady survived her son king Henry. Her life is a favorable picture of the high female nobility of those times. Her

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

1486.

As Henry had been as much seated by violence on his throne, as Richard III. though by battle, instead of the scaffold, he was not, for some time, popular beyond his own immediate party, that had enthroned him. The general body of the nation was still greatly

funeral sermon states, that her father was John Duke of Somerset ; her mother, Margaret. That she was right studious in books, which she had in great number, both in English and in French ; and she translated several tracts of devotion from French into English ; among these, the *Mirror of Gold*, and the last book of *Thomas-a-Kempis*. She lamented that she had not applied to Latin, though she knew enough of it to understand well her prayer-book. By lineage and affinity, she had thirty kings and queens within four degrees of marriage to her, besides earls, marquisses, dukes and princes. She was temperate in food, ‘eschewing banquets, rere-suppers, and joucrys betwixt meles.’ She rose about five o’clock, attended her public and private prayers, dined at ten. She had written regulations for her household, which she had read to them four times a-year. She frequently exhorted them to do well. She was very kind in entertaining strangers. She daily fed, lodged, and visited in her house, twelve poor persons ; ministered to them in their sickness, and saw them on their death-beds that she might learn to die. See her funeral sermon, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, at the Sun in Fleet-street. After her first husband (Richmond’s) death, she married the eldest son of the Duke of Buckingham, and uncle of the one who favored Richard. Surviving him, she chose for her third and last husband, lord Stanley, at the end of the reign of Edward IV. then a widower. She had no children by her two last nuptials. But this lady demands our grateful remembrance, for the benefits she has occasioned to learning and religion. She founded a perpetual lecture of divinity at Oxford, and another at Cambridge, at which some of our ablest divines have emerged to deserved reputation ; also, a perpetual public preacher at Cambridge, which has been altered into the delivery of one sermon to the clergy every Easter. She also founded Christ’s college, and likewise St. John’s, at Cambridge. She was admitted into the fraternity of several religious houses, which entitled her to their prayers, and to a share in what they deemed their meritorious penances and good works. See Preface to her sermon, ed. 1708.

affected to the house and memory of York. Richard was remembered with regret, especially in the northern counties<sup>50</sup>. Henry was hated for his success; and charged with having put to death in the Tower, the young earl he had imprisoned<sup>51</sup>. The king's general demeanor, from the difficulties surrounding him, was not adapted to lessen the adverse humour. He was mysterious and impenetrable. More says, that one thing was so often pretended, and another meant, that nothing was so plain and openly proved, but from the custom of close dealing, men inwardly suspected it<sup>52</sup>; and Bacon remarks, that he had a fashion rather to create doubts than assurance<sup>53</sup>. Having prospered so much by the treachery of others to Richard, and being afterwards compelled to keep the traitors as his friends; while, from his strangeness to the nation, and from its resentment at his victory, he had such a necessity for their support, and yet from their previous conduct, such an uncertainty as to their stability, Henry was like a man sleeping near a precipice, or living amid surrounding ambushes. He knew not where he was really safe, nor in whom he could fully confide, nor for what duration. Hence, caution and alarm produced that doubting, and wary secrecy, which, causing suspicion and uneasiness in others, prevented them from being cordial, and him from being popular or happy. All crowns, obtained by violence and treachery, must be pursued by these disquietudes. But although the nation was full of discontent, and of unemployed soldiers, and turbulent men without livelihood, who

<sup>50</sup> Bacon, 595.<sup>51</sup> Pol. V. 569, 570. Speed, 742.<sup>52</sup> More, 245, 6.<sup>53</sup> Hist. 583.

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.  
1486.

sought subsistence or advancement in disturbance<sup>54</sup>, the disaffected had no great leader to organize, embody, and direct them. The Stanleys, if disposed to revolt, could never be trusted again. Buckingham was too young; and the son of Clarence was secluded in prison. From this want of actual chiefs, and yet from the necessity of having one of name as a nucleus for successful insurrection, it became a remarkable feature in this reign, that impostors should be set up to supply the deficiency, and to become the desired leaders. They were the creatures of the disaffection, and of the exigencies of the day. They failed, from their being deceptions; but their temporary impressions show how transitory Henry's sceptre might have been, if a Warwick, or Hastings, or Buckingham had been alive, to have excited and combined the nobility and gentry into a confidential co-operation against it.

1487. The first that was started against Henry, was a boy of ten years old<sup>55</sup>. At his emerging some contradictions confused the character which the adventurer was reported to have assumed. According to the earliest rumor, the young duke of York had arrived in Ireland<sup>56</sup>. The king sent messengers into different parts to ascertain every circumstance as to his origin, education, previous residence, and present friends<sup>57</sup>; and had the pope's bull in his favor, again read in the churches, and all his enemies excommunicated<sup>58</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> Pol. V. 569.

<sup>55</sup> Rolls Parl. 6, p. 397.

<sup>56</sup> Bern. And. MS. p. 185.

<sup>57</sup> Ib.

<sup>58</sup> Hearne, Lel. p. 209. The pope's bull, dated 6 kal. April 1486, states, that he approves and confirms Henry's succession, and requires the obedience of all his subjects, and forbids any from raising tumults; and if Elizabeth should die childless, settles



It was at last declared, that the new competitor of the king was Warwick, the son of the duke of Clarence, the attainted brother of Edward IV. ; and that he had escaped from the Tower.

It does not seem that this lad was first launched into his adventure by the duchess of Burgundy, though she afterwards adopted him. It was a priest at Oxford, who began the delusion<sup>59</sup>; and others who had flourished under Edward IV. combined to prompt his sprightly nature, and to give him that information, which enabled him to mislead others so ingeniously, that many would have died in his defence<sup>60</sup>. The earl of Lincoln, whom Richard III. had declared heir to his crown, was so infatuated by his own resentments, as to accredit him.

As his partisans had no force in England, sufficient to make a safe point for the assembling of those who were to support him; the pretended prince was first exhibited in Ireland, in Lent<sup>61</sup>, with all the success that could be expected from warm hearts and excited imaginations. The Irish nobility believed

the succession in his issue by any other wife. 12 Rym. Fœd. 297. To have recourse to such an authority, implies great doubts in Henry's mind as to his permanency.

<sup>59</sup> Bern. And. 186. This author calls him the son of a baker or cobbler; the Parliament Rolls says, of a joiner. 6, p. 397. William Symonds, the contriving priest, was but twenty-eight years of age; and, on being examined before the convocation, after his capture, confessed the imposture. See the document in Wilkin's Conc. 3, p. 618.

<sup>60</sup> Bern. And. 186. Polydore says, the priest was suborned by the chiefs of his faction, p. 571.

<sup>61</sup> Hearne, 209. Graft. 362—5. Pol. V. 570. He was crowned with a diadem, taken from a statue of the Virgin. The viceroy, chancellor, and treasurer, sanctioned the coronation; and the bishop of Meath preached at it. Ware Hib.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

1487.

all his tales. Even the lord chancellor received him into his castle. Thus patronized, the duchess Margaret added her impressive sanction, and he prepared to land in England <sup>62</sup>.

Alarmed at the popular favor that began to befriend this unexpected competitor, Henry drew the real earl of Warwick out of the Tower, paraded him through the streets of London; and satisfied the great body of the nobility and gentry, that the other was an impostor. To allay, as far as possible, all resentful feelings against himself, he had a general amnesty of all offences proclaimed, without any exception. This had a salutary effect; but did not suit the interests of the York party, nor reconcile its

<sup>62</sup> This lady, who seconded every plot to dethrone the man that had driven her own family from the sovereignty of England, was, in Henry VII.'s time, by a classical allusion, occasioned by her pertinacious enmity to him, called his persecuting Juno. B. Andreas, MS. Dom. A. 18. She had her brother Edward's taste for martial romances. Caxton says, he translated his *Destruction of Troy*, out of French into English, at her commandment and request, and calls her his lady and mistress. If printing circulates books, let us recollect, that it was the demand for them which chiefly created printing. It was the demand, exceeding what copyists could supply, that led the mind to the invention of the typographic art, far more than any accident. Caxton shows this, in his own confession as to this work. 'Forasmuch as I am weary of tedious writing, and worn in years, being not able to write out several books for all gentlemen, and such others as are desirous of the same, I have caused this book to be printed; that, being published the more plenteously, men's turns may be more easily served.' *Dest. Troy*, p. 120, 3d book. He says of the two first books, that, by her commandment, he began the translation at Bruges, continued it in Ghent, and finished it at Cologne, in 1471; and that he was at Cologne, when he began the third book for her contemplation. 2d book, p. 134. Here we see the places that connected him with the art of printing.

general friends. The earl of Lincoln, his queen's nephew, and the next male heir of York, after Warwick, determined to take advantage of the insurrection of the Irish; and left England to join Margaret in Flanders, where he met lord Lovel. It was settled, that they should foment the rebellion in Ireland, land in England, release the real earl of Warwick, and make him their Yorkist king<sup>63</sup>. The impostor was only to be used as a convenient instrument for exciting the opposing spirit of the English nation into an effective co-operation.

Henry, endangered and angered by this serious plot, dispossessed his queen's mother, the widow of Edward IV. of all her possessions. Her residence had been the seed-bed of the conspiracies in his own favor, and would naturally be the centre of all that would attack him. To prevent this again, he confined her to a residence in Bermondsey abbey<sup>64</sup>. Then, uneasy at Lincoln's flight, and fearful that others would follow him, and make Flanders and Brussels to be a scene of conspiracy against him, as Bretagne and Paris had been for him, against Richard, the king went to Essex and Suffolk, but could not gain any certainty where his enemies would land<sup>65</sup>. He caused the eastern ports to be closed, and the coast to be guarded; sent the former queen's son Dorset to the Tower<sup>66</sup>; and prepared to encounter the in-

<sup>63</sup> Graft. 864, 5.

<sup>64</sup> 'Where,' says Grafton, 'she lived a miserable and wretched life.' p. 864. So Hall, 431. There is an account of her funeral, and of her many daughters' last attentions to her, in a MS. in the library of the Royal Society. This lady, in her prosperity, had the merit of completing the foundation of Queen's college, Cambridge, (Pol. V. 571.) which queen Margaret had begun.

<sup>65</sup> Hearne, 209.

<sup>66</sup> Graft. 866. Pol. V. 572.

## BOOK

I.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

vasion, that he was certain would take place. These measures of energy were of the same character of violence which Richard had used against Rivers and others. But Henry avoided his most revolting error, by abstaining from their blood.

1487.  
May.

Lincoln and Lovel sailed to Ireland, with 2,000 able German soldiers, under a commander of high birth, and great talent and experience, Martin Swart; and landed at Dublin, on the 24th of May, where the boy was again proclaimed king. This select force, accompanied by a multitude of savage Irishmen, armed only with "skaynes and mantels," under lord Gerardine, arrived on the 4th of June at Furnes, near Lancaster<sup>67</sup>; projecting to pass into Yorkshire, and there center all the friends of the York dynasty.

The king assembled, at Kennilworth castle, his army, which lord Oxford petitioned to command; and, issuing a judicious proclamation<sup>68</sup>, marched through Coventry and Loughborough<sup>69</sup>, to Nottingham, where lord Strange brought him a powerful body. Swart moved toward Newark. The king, after hearing divine service, intercepted them at Stoke, a mile beyond Newark<sup>70</sup>. Lincoln, by Swart's advice, drew up his men in an advantageous station on the brow of a hill. Henry made three divisions,

16th June.  
Battle of  
Stoke.

<sup>67</sup> Rolls Parl. 6, p. 397. Pol. V. 573. Graft.

<sup>68</sup> It forbade any to rob churches or individuals, or to molest any one; or to take provisions without paying for them, on pain of death; or to lodge themselves but as the king's officers directed; or to make any quarrel; or to impede the bringing of supplies to the army. Hearne, 210, 211.

<sup>69</sup> All vagabonds and common women were driven from the army, and those who remained were put into the stocks and prisons of Loughborough. *Ib.* 212.

<sup>70</sup> Hearne, 213—215.

but filled the foremost with his best troops, and placed the others as their supporting wings. After an address to his army, the battle began. It lasted three hours, and was at one time doubtful<sup>71</sup>. The skill and valor of Swart deserved a better cause. He fell with Lincoln, Lovel, and Gerardine; and their deaths, with 4,000 others<sup>72</sup>, ended the only conflict that seriously endangered Henry after his accession. The impostor, and the priest who had taught and moved him, were taken. The latter was committed to "perpetual prison and miserable captivity." The former was too insignificant a puppet to be any longer dangerous; and, as the wisest depreciation of his claims and of his followers, he was made the king's falconer, and afterwards sent to turn the spits in his kitchen<sup>73</sup>.

Happily for Henry, this dangerous invasion was made too precipitately by Lincoln and Lovel. Much national feeling was with their enterprize; but the evils of attainder and confiscation were too great to be risked, without a greater probability of success than they presented. If they had won this their first battle they might have been numerously joined, but their defeat extinguished all hopes of any present change of dynasty. Henry had again an interval of tranquillity; he made a truce of seven years with Scotland; received ambassadors from the French king, and endeavoured to mediate between him and Bretagne. He released the Marquis Dorset from

<sup>71</sup> Bernard Andreas says, that, at one time, Henry's friends were thought to be defeated. 'Dum preliarentur, nostri qui putabantur superati, illos denique subjecerunt.' MSS. Dom. p. 189.

<sup>72</sup> Hearne, 214. Bern. And. Pol. V. 574. Hall, 434.

<sup>73</sup> Pol. V. 574. Graft. 867. Bern. And. MS. 189.



BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

1487.

the Tower, and received him into his friendship; and perceiving how deeply the nation was interested in the house of York, he gratified the public feeling by a coronation of his queen<sup>74</sup>.

The imposition of a tax which the parliament enacted to defray the expense of the king's aid to Bretagne, excited the northern counties into a revolt. The king directed the earl of Northumberland to enforce the payment of the assessment; and the people, who had borne this lord a continual grudge for his treachery to Richard in the battle of Bosworth, vindictively attacked and killed him<sup>75</sup>; and then assembled in rebellion under sir John Egremont. Henry intrusted the earl of Surrey with an army to suppress it; and as it was not otherwise supported, he discomfited them with ease. Their popular leader was beheaded; and Egremont fled to the court of Margaret in Flanders<sup>76</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> Graft. 871—2. Hall, 438. The admirers of grand ceremonies may see a detailed account of her splendid coronation, 4 *Lel. Coll.* 216—33. She is thus described, in her procession, the day before. 'She had a kirtle of white cloth of gold of Damascus, and a mantle of the same suit, furred with ermine, fastened before her breast with a great lace, curiously wrought of gold and silk, and rich knobs of gold, tasselled at the end. Her fair yellow hair hung down, plain, behind her back, with a calle of pipes over it. She had a circlet of gold, richly garnished with precious stones, on her head.' p. 219. At her coronation she wore a kirtle and mantle of purple velvet, furred with ermine, with a lace for the mantle. p. 222. Her sister Cecil bore her train.

<sup>75</sup> Graft. 877. Hall, 443. Bern. And. MS. 183. Pol. Virg. 579. Sir John Savage, who had also deserted Richard, just before the battle, did not long survive the earl. Riding out of his pavilion at Boulogne, he was suddenly trapped and taken; and, disdaining 'to be taken of such vileyne,' he endeavored to defend himself, and was killed. Graft. p. 895.

<sup>76</sup> Graft. 878. Pol. V. 580.

CHAP.  
III.REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.Perkin  
Warbeck's  
pretensions.

The next great ebullition of discontent appeared in the countenance given to the youth, who pretended to be the young duke of York, brother of Edward V. It was hoped, or believed by many, that this prince had not been put to death by Richard, but had escaped; and a young man of his age, who had travelled much abroad, going first into Portugal, suddenly appeared in Ireland; asserting, that he was the youthful son of the still-lamented Edward IV.

The Irish credulously welcomed him. The French king, then at variance with Henry, sent for him; assigned him a guard, and treated him as a prince. The English exiles that were abroad, hastened to him at Paris; and expeditions, that alarmed Henry into a hasty pacification with the French king, were publicly projected; but this treaty separating Charles from his interests, the pretending duke of York retired to the duchess Margaret. She received him with full recognition; gave him also a guard of honor, and called him The White Rose, prince of England<sup>77</sup>.

This countenance, and the plausibility of his conversation, and the suitableness of his appearance to his pretensions<sup>78</sup>, made such an impression in his

<sup>77</sup> Graft. 896—8. Hall, 462—3. She pretended to be delighted to hear him, again and again, repeat the well-arranged story of his escape from the intended murderers; his wanderings in foreign lands, and his happy arrival in her dominions. Pol. V. 589.

<sup>78</sup> The account of Bernard Andreas is, that the king's French secretary, influenced by the duchess of Burgundy, became unfaithful to him; and, joining her faction, assisted her to set up this new adventurer, a native of Tournay, to whom Edward IV. had been godfather; and who had been educated in the kingdom, and was, therefore, well qualified to pass for his younger son. Hence, he was able to narrate, from his own observation and memory, the

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.  
1487.

favor, that it was received in England as an undoubted truth, that he was the real prince; and, therefore, anterior in right to the crown, to his sister Elizabeth. Not only the common people, but divers noble and worshipful men believed and affirmed it to be true<sup>79</sup>. Seditions began now to spring up on every side. Many assembled in companies, and passed over to him in Flanders. Some, from real conviction, excited others to befriend him: Many, from dissatisfaction to Henry, by whom, they thought, they had not been sufficiently rewarded; and not a few, from a desire to benefit by change and commotion<sup>80</sup>. Two persons only were now surviving of the murderers of the young princes, sir James Tyrrel and John Dighton. The king committed them to the Tower; subjected them to examination, and circulated their confessions among the public<sup>81</sup>.

habit and actions of Edward IV. and of the king's friends and domestics, whom he had known in his childhood; and many true circumstances of times and places, besides what he also learnt from the information of others. MS. Domit. p. 210. So that no impostor could have been more judiciously selected.

<sup>79</sup> The statement which this person gave, of his pretended escape from the Tower, and subsequent flight to the king of Scotland, was, 'In my tender age, I was secretly conveyed over sea; where, after a time, the party that had me in charge suddenly forsook me. I was forced thereby to wander abroad, and to seek mean conditions for the sustaining of my life.' Bacon's Hist. p. 615. Speed, p. 757.

<sup>80</sup> Pol. V. 590. Graft. 899. Sir Robert Clifford, and sir William Burley, went over, to apprise the duchess of the feelings and intentions of the English friends to the new claimant.

<sup>81</sup> I do not find, that a verbatim and official copy of their statements was published. Bacon says, 'They agreed both in a tale, as the king gave out, to this effect;' and then adds the narrative already stated in the reign of Richard III. p. 489. His lordship

Henry placed vessels of war, and soldiers he could trust, to guard his coasts; and employed every

CHAP.  
III.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

adds, 'Thus much was then delivered abroad, to the effect of those examinations. But the king, nevertheless, made no use of them in any of his declarations, whereby, as it seems, those examinations left the business somewhat more perplexed. John Dighton, who, it seemeth, spake best for the king, was forthwith set at liberty, and was the principal means of divulging this tradition.' p. 608. The withholding from the public, of their exact confessions, is something extraordinary, but may have arisen thus. Tyrrel, as a gentleman, would have as little to do with the actual manual murder, as possible. That he planned the deed, employed and sent in the agents, and glanced on the bodies, and then set off to Richard, was, probably, all he did. The disposal of the bodies, as the actual killing, he may have left to the men; and Miles Forrest, as the professional ruffian, may have been the one most active in burying the corpses. Dighton, less used to murder, may, like Macbeth, have been afraid, or averse, to look again on what he had done, and left the burial to the rugged Forrest. On these suppositions, Dighton would not be able to have pointed out the exact spot where Forrest buried them; and the inability to produce the bodies, at that important crisis, may have alarmed Henry. Perkin said, he had been saved and conveyed away by one of the employed assassins. As the king, from the death of Forrest, could not produce the evidence of both these, that the princes were killed; the single evidence of Dighton, without the production of the remains, left a defect, that was not irreconcilable with Perkin's pretensions. Hence, the king was afraid of exposing to the verbal criticism of the public, at that moment, when so many were eager and interested to point out the smallest imperfection, the actual confessions. Unable then to find the bodies, he thought it better to circulate the substance of the depositions, and to add a report, which the murderers could not swear to, nor personally know, as they did not assist, That a priest had afterwards moved the bodies to another place. They who know, by experience, how written documents may be commented on by parties interested to support a particular case, and how much they may be perverted to mean something very different from their intended import, will best understand Henry's judgment, in not then submitting them to the inspection of his enemies.

BOOK  
I.REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

1487.

agency and means to discover who this princely pretender really was. The result of his inquiries his ambassadors communicated to the Austrian duke of Burgundy; and solicited him to discountenance the imposture. His final answer to Henry, without deciding on the genuineness of the pretender, was, that he would not assist him, but could not prevent the lady Margaret from exercising her own discretion on the occasion<sup>82</sup>.

Henry, with great wisdom, endeavored to defeat the conspiracy, by the gentlest means. He persuaded Clifford to abandon it. He offered pardon and reward to all who would do the same; and obtaining the names of its supporters in England, he arrested lord Fitzwalter, two knights, four gentlemen, and six clergymen of rank<sup>83</sup>, who abetted it. He forbade all trading to Flanders; and astonished the world, by arresting, on the accusation of Clifford, his former preserver, sir William Stanley, to whom he owed his throne. Stanley was confined to his own chamber in the Tower. The charge against him was, that he was secretly abetting the imposture, although in the confidential post of lord chamberlain to Henry<sup>84</sup>. Henry, at first, would not

<sup>82</sup> Graft. 900—2. Pol. V. 592.

<sup>83</sup> These were, sir William Rochford, doctor of divinity, and sir Thomas Poynes, both Dominicans; doctor William Sutton; sir William Worsley, dean of St. Paul's; and two others. Graft. 902. The two knights, and another, were beheaded; and the lord pardoned, till, attempting to escape to Perkin, he suffered also. Ib. Doctor Sutton was the parson of St. Stephen Walbrook. Fabian, 530.

<sup>84</sup> B. Andreas' information on sir William's alleged conspiracy, is, 'There were, then living, very learned and very religious men, who were taken up, as in the conspiracy with the chamberlain.



believe it. When the truth became evident, he arrested sir William, who ingenuously confessed it<sup>85</sup>. For this treachery he was arraigned at Westminster, adjudged to death, and suffered at Tower-hill on the 16th of February<sup>86</sup>.

CHAP.  
III.  
REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

The king now inflicted severities like those for which Richard had been reprobated. He caused divers persons to suffer condign punishment in England, for their seditious or disloyal expressions; and

Among these, was one who excelled in the knowledge of sacred literature, the provincial of the Dominicans; also, the dean of St. Paul's, doctor of divinity, and some others. *All these either gave money to Perkin, or privately sent it to him, from others.* But the chamberlain, the richest of all, possessed great heaps of treasure, by which he had promised to bring him into the kingdom, and to defend him in it. Sir Robert Clifford communicated these facts to the king, who, as his wise custom was, first, most prudently investigated, whether what this person told him was true; and, having ascertained it to be so, then consigned his chamberlain to be punished by the laws.' MS. Dom. 18, p. 216, 217. This direct and decisive evidence shows, that sir William was planning to deal with Henry, as his brother, lord Stanley, had with Richard. Pol. Virgil mentions, that Clifford charged Stanley with being one of Perkin's allies. p. 593.

<sup>85</sup> Pol. V. 593. It is not probable, that sir William's declaration, That, if he were certain that Perkin was the son of Edward, he would never bear arms against him, was the only ground of Henry's severity, though this might be all that sir William chose publicly to say. Yet this speech implies, sufficiently, his adverse mind to Henry. No man, in Stanley's situation, and after Lambert's imposture, would have said so much, if he had not desired the success of the new plot, and to contribute to its prosecution.

<sup>86</sup> Graft. 905. Pol. V. 593. He is included in the act of attainder, (Stat. of the Realm, 2, p. 633) without a detail of his offence. It is mentioned, that sir William had collected a treasure of 40,000 marks, in his castle at Holt-Stowe; and, from his tenantry, could have brought a large force into the field, against the king.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

then sent an army into Ireland, under sir Edward Poynings, to destroy the supporters of his youthful competitor. Poynings assembled the Irish nobility, who gave him fair promises; but dreading his threats, withdrew into the woods and marshes of the country. Sir Edward attempted a vigorous pursuit, but found his force insufficient to act against them, in their fastnesses and retreats. He surprised the earl of Kildare; yet Henry thought it politic not only to release him, but to appoint him the lord lieutenant of the island<sup>87</sup>.

1495.  
July.

The young adventurer at length sailed from Flanders; and on the 3d of July attempted to land at Deal in Kent<sup>88</sup>. But finding that a party, which he landed, was attacked as enemies, he returned to Flanders, to consult on his further enterprize<sup>89</sup>.

He sailed to Ireland, and thence passed into Scotland, where the young king James decided to receive him with honor, as the genuine duke of York; and to encourage his adherents, and evince his own conviction, he married him to his near kinswoman, the earl of Huntley's daughter; and supplied him with an army to enter England by the northern borders<sup>90</sup>.

His army plundered and ravaged in Northumber-

<sup>87</sup> Graft. 907, 8. Pol. V. 594, 5.

<sup>88</sup> Stat. Realm, 2, p. 633.

<sup>89</sup> Graft. 909. Pol. V. 596. Five captains, and 160 men, were taken. B. Andreas says, about 400. The king's speech, or rather prayer, on this advantage, which he adds, was an expression of gratitude and resignation to the Supreme, ending, 'No prosperity, no adversity, no chance, no time, no place, shall ever make us unmindful of Thee.' MS.

<sup>90</sup> Graft. 912. Pol. V. 597. In this year died the duchess of York, mother of Edward IV. and Richard III. Hall, 472.

land; but, satisfied with their booty, would advance no further. No Englishmen welcomed the pretending prince; and on his return to Scotland, the king began to question his reality, and to relax in his behalf<sup>91</sup>. In January 1496, Henry apprised his parliament of the Scotch aggression<sup>92</sup>.

CHAP.  
III.  
REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

Lord Daubeney was dispatched with an army towards Scotland; but the people of Cornwall, resenting a new taxation, assembled in a rebellion, formidable for its numbers, though not for their efficiency. They chose captains, and moved to Taunton. The king was alarmed to hear, that lord Audley and several of the minor nobility had joined them; and that they were marching to London. He called back lord Daubeney from the north, to meet them; while he commissioned the earl of Surrey to defend Durham and the Scottish borders<sup>93</sup>.

The king, choosing to let their first impetuosity waste itself, the rebels marched, unopposed, to Wells, to Salisbury, to Winchester, and thence into Kent, and reached Blackheath. They were meditating to enter the metropolis, and attack the Tower; when the king, sending the earl of Oxford, with a select body of archers and men at arms, to take them in the rear, marched out of the city, to attack them in front. In the first assault, at Deptford bridge, they took lord Daubeney prisoner; but unexpectedly

June 22d.  
Battle on  
Black-  
heath.

<sup>91</sup> Graft. 912—14. Pol. V. 598. On Perkin's transactions in Scotland, see Bernard Andreas' MS. history, p. 218; and Hall, 473—6.

<sup>92</sup> Rolls Parl. 6, p. 509.

<sup>93</sup> Graft. 916, 17. Pol. V. 599, 600. During the quarrel with Scotland, all Scots, not denizens, were ordered to depart out of England within forty days. Stat. Realm, 2, p. 553.

released him. The king had come upon them on the 22d of June, two days earlier than he had threatened. They could not long resist his forces. They were soon dispersed; many killed, more taken, and Audley was hanged<sup>94</sup>. The invasion of the Scots was repelled, and retaliated, by the earl of Surrey, till the king of Scotland agreed to a truce, and to convey Perkin Warbeck out of his dominions<sup>95</sup>.

Perkin retired to Ireland, and endeavored to revive the rebellion in Cornwall<sup>96</sup>. He called himself Richard IV. obtained some support, and assaulted Exeter. Repulsed there, he attempted Taunton; the Cornish men talked of being desperate; but when Henry's army was assembled under his most trusty noblemen, Perkin, afraid of risking a battle, suddenly destroyed all his own hopes, by flying at midnight, with sixty horsemen, over the country to

<sup>94</sup> Graft. 920—2. Pol. V. 601—3. Stat. Realm, 2, p. 684.

<sup>95</sup> Perkin's volunteered statement to the Scottish king, and implied in his proclamation, that Edward V. was murdered, seems a deciding circumstance, to prove both his own imposture, and Richard's guilt. If, as some have surmised, Edward had died of illness and grief, and his brother had been conveyed away, by his uncle's orders, to foreign parts, Perkin, for the credit of the family, would have been taught so to state. But his calling Richard, in his proclamation, 'our unnatural uncle,' and adding to the same epithet, in Scotland, the additional charge that the king employed an instrument to murder them both; and that the assassin had cruelly slain Edward, but had preserved him; satisfactorily show, that no one then believed that Edward V. died a natural death, and leave no doubt as to his own imposture; because, Richard and Tyrrel having, by his own statement, determined on their deaths, would have taken care to be sure, that the catastrophe they planned had been effected.

<sup>96</sup> He landed at Whitsun-bay there, 7 September 1497. Stat. Realm, 684. See Bern. And. MS. 219.

Southampton. There he sought the shelter of the church at Bewdley abbey; and soon, with subdued and desponding mind, submitted to the king, and was taken to London. He was carefully watched, but not harshly treated, till he escaped out of custody and reached the sea coast. Closely pursued, he retraced his steps; and solicited an asylum in the priory of Sheen, near Richmond. From this refuge he was taken to London; set in the stocks a whole day, before the door of Westminster hall; exposed to the reproaches and insult of a deriding populace; and was carried through London the next day, to the same degradation at the standard in Cheapside, where he read a confession of his imposture, from a copy of his own writing<sup>97</sup>. On that night, June the 15th, he was committed to the Tower. There Warwick, the son of Clarence, had been confined for

<sup>97</sup> Pol. Virg. 608. Graft. The substance of the confession was, that he was born at Tournay; his father's name, John Osbecke, a controller of that town. That his mother placed him with a cousin, at Antwerp, to learn Flemish. Returning home, a merchant of Tournay took him again to Antwerp, where he became ill, and put him under a tradesman at Middleburgh. That he went afterwards to Portugal, in an English ship, and entered a knight's service at Lisbon; and that, attaching himself while there to a Breton, he went to Cork, where, because he wore silk clothes, the Irish would believe he was one of the Plantagenets; and urged him to pretend to be so. This confession makes no mention of his having been in England, under Edward IV.; nor of the duchess Margaret's concern with him. It seems to be a factitious paper, meant to throw the whole imposture on the Irish; and is not reconcileable with the other facts about him, unless by supposing that they were intentionally suppressed. The end seems to have been, that, having ruined his character by his flight, even his former friends cared for him no more. This confession could only increase the public contempt for him, as an unsteady dastard, and as a juvenile impostor.



## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

1497.

fifteen years, by Henry, so continually secluded from all society, that his mind sank into such a state of fatuity, as to be unable, says the old chronicler, "to discern a goose from a capon." Yet, an Augustine friar, attempting to engraft on his name a new conspiracy against Henry, persuaded one of his scholars to personate him in Kent. But the friar and his puppet were soon apprehended; the latter was hanged on Shrove Tuesday; the other doomed to perpetual imprisonment<sup>98</sup>.

Perkin was enabled, by means unexplained, to bribe and interest three of his keepers, to let him and Warwick escape from the Tower. They were taken. Perkin was drawn to Tyburn, and there executed<sup>99</sup>; and the son of Clarence, for having endeavored to escape with him, from an unjust confinement, was arraigned for high treason<sup>100</sup>, confessed his effort to release himself; and for this offence, was beheaded on the 28th of November 1499<sup>101</sup>. This act too much resembles the worst deeds of Richard III. The earl's imprisonment was an act of violent injustice; and the execution of one

<sup>98</sup> Graft. 931. Pol. V. 608, 9.

<sup>99</sup> The discovery of the bones of children in the Tower, and the other facts mentioned in the preceding pages, remove, so satisfactorily, to my own judgment, all doubt of Richard's murder of his nephews, that I have no question, that Perkin was as complete an adventurer as Lambert Simnel.

<sup>100</sup> The poor helpless earl was charged with attempting to rescue Peter, and to make him king. Stat. Realm, 2, p. 684.

<sup>101</sup> Graft. 933. It was said that the king of Spain had refused to wed his daughter with the king's eldest son Arthur, while this heir to the house of York was alive. Ib. A reason for his execution which doubles its guilt. Two years afterwards she came, and the nuptials took place; ib. 935; but the prince scarcely survived them a year.

so debilitated by it, was little less than legal murder. The private comforts of Henry afterwards began to lessen. His eldest son soon died; his own health gave way, and he was in his grave at fifty-two. But who can wear a crown gained in battle, and contested afterwards by disaffection, with innocence or happiness? Virtue and felicity are the guests of other homes.

CHAP.  
III.REIGN OF  
HEN VII.

It is remarkable, that in all the three impostures against Henry, there were literally a priest and a plot. A priest at Oxford trained Lambert Simnel; two Dominican friars, a dean of St. Paul's<sup>102</sup>, a doctor of divinity, and other clergymen, were active supporters of Perkin Warbeck; and an Augustine friar brought out the last pretender in Kent<sup>103</sup>. These facts indicate an hostility in a part of the church against Henry; and lead the mind to inquire by what circumstances it was occasioned.

State and  
reform of  
the church

<sup>102</sup> This dean was, on the 13th November 1494, attainted of treason, but afterwards pardoned. Stat. Realm, 2, p. 619. Fabian calls him 'a famous doctor and preacher; the provincial of the Black Friars.' p. 530.

<sup>103</sup> Besides these, we have other indications of some part of the clergy persecuting Henry with conspiracies. The abbot of Abingdon connected himself with Simnel's imposture, and Lincoln's rebellion; and, the 1st of January 1487, concerted, that J. Mayne should go to the earl abroad, and give him money for those purposes. This Mayne, on the first of December 1490, consulted with a priest, T. R., in London, to release Warwick from the Tower; and the priest went down to the abbot, to show him 'the clearness (that is, the innocence) of the said compassed treason.' After the abbot had seen this man, he told Mayne that he was light witted; but he would reveal his mind to another person. They were all charged with conspiring to levy war against the king, on the 20th of December, and were attainted. Rolls Parl. 6, p. 436, 7.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

1497.

Three questions early pressed upon Henry's attention, as to the church establishment. Was it to be permitted to keep its great property, which the laity wished to diminish and to share? Were its luxuries and the display of its affluence, so criticised by the rest of society, to continue? Should its doctrines, discipline, authority and exerted power, remain unaltered? Of these momentous subjects, Henry did not venture to meddle with the first; he left the property of the church to be regulated by his successor: on the third, though he did not suppress, he did not encourage persecution; but on the second, the luxury and manners of the clergy, he felt himself strong enough, from the support of some of their wisest chiefs, to interfere, by positive and reforming regulations. Sincerely attached to religion himself, it was offensive to his own feelings and judgment, to see it connected with luxury and immorality, in its appointed teachers.

One of the first statutes of the king, was made "for the more sure and likely reformation of priests, clerks and religious men;" and authorized all bishops to punish them for any incontinence, by such imprisonment as they should think expedient<sup>104</sup>. The pope, Innocent VIII. applauding Henry's anxiety for the increase of religion in his realm, complained very early in his reign, of the application of the strong hand of law to the clergy. He assured the king, that it was not without grief of heart he

<sup>104</sup> Stat. of Realm, V. 2, p. 501. The additional provision of the act, That the prelates could not be chargeable with an action of false imprisonment, for so doing, implies, that before this act passed, the offending clergy resisted the right of their superiors to correct them.

heard, that they had been sentenced by secular judges, to torture, to stripes, and even to the gibbet; and that the possessions of cathedrals, and the lands, not feudally held, of the bishops, had been confiscated, and this by the royal authority<sup>105</sup>. We have not the sovereign's answer. But as in all instances of the treasonable priests, already alluded to, he took none of their lives, but was content with their being consigned to perpetual imprisonment; it is manifest that he yielded that deference to their asserted privileges, as to allow their order to exempt them from the punishment of death<sup>106</sup>.

But in the first convocation after Lambert's imposture, measures were begun for the reformation of the church. It was stated, that many presbyters badly conducted themselves; that they took their repasts in taverns, and sat there almost all the day<sup>107</sup>. The rebuking letter of Morton, Henry's confidential archbishop<sup>108</sup>, besides forbidding these practices, censured also their mode of wearing their hair, so as to conceal their tonsure; and also their having their garments open in front, so as to make little distinction between themselves and laymen in their dress. He also prohibited their having swords, daggers or belts, or gold purses, or any ornaments of this precious metal. Their non-residences on their

<sup>105</sup> See his letter, dated 7 May, in Wilk. Concilia, 3, p. 616, 617.

<sup>106</sup> Grafton remarks, At that time, here, in England, so much reverence was attributed to the holy orders, that although a priest had committed high treason against his sovereign lord, and to all others, offenders in murder, rape, or theft, yet the life was given, and the punishment of death released, p. 931.

<sup>107</sup> See the proceedings in convocation, 3 Wilk. Conc. 618, 619.

<sup>108</sup> It is dated 16 March 1486, in 3 Wilk. Conc. 619.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

1497.

benefices were also remarked and reprobated<sup>109</sup>. Yet he obtained the grant of a subsidy for the king, and another in the following year<sup>110</sup>.

In 1489, Innocent VIII. granted the king an important bull for the reformation of the monasteries. In this he stated, that he had heard that some monasteries, the Clugny, the Cistercians, the Premonstratenses, and various other orders, had relaxed their mode of living, and their appointed rules of observances, and their pious contemplations, and were leading a lascivious and too dissolute life. He therefore authorized the king to direct the archbishop to cause them all to be visited, and to reduce them to their true and ancient customs, all excuses set apart; and to cut off and punish all that should prove rebellious<sup>111</sup>.

In the next year Morton exerted his intrusted powers on the celebrated abbey of St. Albans. It has been doubted if the monks, before their dissolu-

<sup>109</sup> 3 Wilk. Conc. 619, 620.

<sup>110</sup> Ib. 621, 630. The king sanctioned an act, which made void all letters patent that exempted abbots, &c. from paying tenths. Stat. Realm, 2. p. 530. Another act, enforcing the same measure, annulled the instrument of Edward IV. that discharged any spiritual persons from paying their tenths or fifteenths. Ib. 552.

<sup>111</sup> Wilkins has printed this bull, p. 631. Henry also obtained from the pope, in 1487, a bull, which Alexander VI. in June 1493, confirmed, for lessening the privileges of sanctuaries. If criminals ever left them to commit fresh offences, the sanctuaries might be entered. They were to protect persons only, not goods; and the king might send keepers to watch traitors in them. 12 Rym. 541. Henry afterwards acted with less scruple towards these abused asylums, some of whose privileges lasted even to our own times. In 1504, Julius II. granted a bull, that persons suspected of high treason might be taken out to be judged, if not convicted before. 13 Rym. Fœd. 104.



tion, were so profligate as they have been often depicted. The letter of Morton to the abbot of St. Albans, must end all doubt on this subject<sup>112</sup>. He tells the abbot, that he has been accused of simony, usury, the dilapidations of the goods and possessions of the monasteries; and was noted for some other enormous crimes; that not only he the abbot, but not a few also of his fellow monks, were leading a vicious life, and frequently profaned the sacred places, by shedding of blood and unchastity. He specifies the loose women, whom he had introduced as nuns into the convent, and the profligate practices that he and others were pursuing<sup>113</sup>. He commands him to make an effective reformation within sixty days, on pain of further proceedings, in case he should be disobedient or contumacious. Morton was strenuous in pursuing his ecclesiastical reformations. Differences arose between him and his brother prelates<sup>114</sup> upon them, and his life was endangered<sup>115</sup>. But after Morton's death, in 1500, the ecclesiastical luxury was still repressed; for a year afterwards, "the gray friars were compelled to wear their old russet habit, as the sheep doth dye it"<sup>116</sup>.

<sup>112</sup> It is dated in 1490, and printed in Wilkins, p. 632. In this, he calls himself 'visitor, reformer, inquisitor, and judge.' Ib.

<sup>113</sup> Ib. 632. The privilege claimed by the church was also restricted, by the benefit of clergy being ordered to be allowed only once, to persons not in actual orders. Stat. Realm, 538.

<sup>114</sup> Fabian remarks, that in July 1494, Dr. Draper was borne by force out of St. Paul's, 'for a variance that there was between the bishops of Canterbury and London,' p. 530.

<sup>115</sup> The statute on conspiracies by the king's servants, to murder his counsellors or great officers, (Stat. Realm, 2. p. 521.) is said to have been passed, from Morton's danger from some 'mortal enemies in court.' Lord Bacon, p. 594.

<sup>116</sup> Fab. 533.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

1497.

Other dissensions prevailed among the clergy<sup>117</sup>. The king, venturing upon these innovations on a body so powerful, will fully account for the impostors that were sent abroad to dethrone him, being countenanced or contrived by members of the church. But the spirit of improvement had awakened; and another instance of it was the papal limitation of the power of making saints. By his bull on this subject, in 1494, the pope confines it to the pontifical chair alone; and specifies the regulations under which they were from that time to be created<sup>118</sup>.

Yet Henry found it necessary not to prevent the church from occasional persecutions of heresy. In April 1494, he suffered an old woman to be burnt for heresy<sup>119</sup>; and two years afterwards we read, that many lollards stood with faggots at St. Paul's cross<sup>120</sup>. As it is not said that they were destroyed, the king may have compromised with the establishment, to permit this exhibition to deter, without allowing them to be killed. This ceremony of menace was repeated in 1498, with twelve persons accused of heresy<sup>121</sup>; but in the next year, "an old heretic" was, in Smithfield, consumed by the flames<sup>122</sup>. In the Lent of 1505, a prior, with five other heretics, were exposed, with indignity, at St. Paul's<sup>123</sup>.

<sup>117</sup> Thus, in 1494, 'Dr. Hill, bishop of London, pursued grievously the prior of Christ Church in London,' Fab. 529. And in March 1502, 'the prior of the Chartreux at Sheen, with another monk of that house, was murdered by the sinister means of a monk of the same place, and other mischievous persons.' Ib. 534.

<sup>118</sup> See all the rules laid down by the pope, in the document printed in Wilkins, V. 3. p. 636—9.

<sup>119</sup> Fabian, 529.

<sup>121</sup> Ib. 532.

<sup>122</sup> Ib.

<sup>120</sup> Ib. 531.

<sup>123</sup> Ib. 535.

CHAP.  
III.REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.His foreign  
politics.

The two great objects of foreign policy which occupied the anxious attention of Henry, were, the preservation of Flanders and Bretagne from being united with France. The French government pressed zealously forwards to both these objects ; and the hostilities maintained by the towns of Ghent and Bruges, against their duke Maximilian, assisted this ambition. Charles VIII. sent an army of 8,000 men from France, under the lord Cordes, to assist the revolting towns, and to conquer Flanders. Henry reinforced lord Daubeney, his governor at Calais, with 1,000 archers and soldiers, who, with the flower of the garrison, joined the troops of Maximilian at Newport. Their united force, not 3,000 men, marched towards the French intrenchments at Dixmude, which 4,000 of the disaffected Flemings had reinforced. The English were conducted, unperceived, to one point of the fortified encampment ; and moving rapidly to the part where the artillery was posted, immediately attacked it. This policy was to discharge, with a steady effect, their arrows, and then fall prostrate while the ordnance fired over them ; to rise again, and shoot while the cannon was re-loading ; and then to charge before the foe recovered from the fatal effects of the arrows. Another division of the English waded the ditch, which the Germans leapt over with their Moorish pikes ; and after suffering a loss of 8,000 men, the French party abandoned their guns and camp. Cordes, to balance this defeat, with 20,000 troops, attempted Newport, and carried the tower ; but a bark, with eighty fresh English archers arriving at a critical moment, the besieged rallied, and recovered the tower ; and the French believing that a

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

1497.

great English army had landed, abandoned their enterprize in despair<sup>124</sup>. As Maximilian was the son of the emperor of Germany, the policy of Henry was enabled, in this quarter, to counteract effectually the French ambition. By sir Edward Pownings, he took Sluys, “the den of thieves to those who traversed the seas towards the east parts,” or the German ocean, and the Baltic; and by his co-operation, the province of Flanders was reduced to the authority of Maximilian<sup>125</sup>.

The efforts of Henry to prevent Bretagne from being incorporated with the French monarchy, were less successful. When Charles VIII. with whom Henry had made friendly truces<sup>126</sup>, in 1487, pursued his quarrel with this duchy, with the hope of mastering it, Henry endeavored to act as the mediator<sup>127</sup>; and unwilling, as well from gratitude to Charles, as from his wise system of peace with other countries, to plunge into a serious war with France, he discountenanced sir Edward, now lord Woodville, the valiant and chivalric brother of lord Rivers, who attempted, unauthorized, with 400 men, to assist the Breton duke, by whom, in his necessities, he had

<sup>124</sup> Graft. 880—2. Hall, 446. Pol. V.

<sup>125</sup> Graf. 890. Hall, 452. Pol. V. On Henry's transactions with France and Maximilian, see B. Andreas contemporary account. MS. Dom. 193—202. For a minute detail of all the circumstances, I would refer the reader to Rapin's History of England; and for a more succinct and correct one, to his *Abregé Historique des Actes Publics*, V. 2, p. 516—20.

<sup>126</sup> See them in Rymer's *Fœd.* 12. p. 277, 281, 344, dated 12 Oct. 1485, and 17 Jan. 1486, and 14 July 1488. The last extended to 17 Jan. 1490.

<sup>127</sup> Henry's mediatorial commissions are dated 7 March and 11 December 1488. Rymer, 12, p. 337, 347.

been so kindly entertained<sup>128</sup>. Losing this opportunity of securing the attachment of the Bretons, and of defeating the French project, he left the forces of Bretagne to fight, unsupported by him, an unequal battle with the power of Charles, and to be defeated<sup>129</sup>. The duke dying, Henry perceived his error, and resolved to assist the young duchess, his daughter, now the sovereign of Bretagne, with troops<sup>130</sup>; but not really pledging the force and vigor of England in the effort, he preferred negotiations<sup>131</sup>, to defer what he could not prevent; and amid this hesitating defence, the French obtained an ascendancy in the country, which they never lost<sup>132</sup>. Charles amused Henry with ambassadors; and the pope's legate, by attempting a mediation, paralyzed the arm of England. The French king was, in the mean time, bribing the Breton nobility, and paying assiduous attentions to Anne, the heiress

<sup>128</sup> Hall, 439. Pol. Vir.

<sup>129</sup> This was the battle of St. Aubin du Cormier, fought 27 July 1488, in which lord Woodville fell. Hall, 441.

<sup>130</sup> On 23d December 1488, Henry issued the order to raise troops for her succour, which is in Rymer, 12--355; and on 10 Feb. 1489, he covenanted, by a treaty, to send her 6,000 men, for which she was to pay, and to give two towns as a pledge for their payment. She was not to make peace without his consent, nor he to renew a peace with France, without comprising her. See the treaty in Rym. p. 362.

<sup>131</sup> See the commissions and documents on these, during 1490, 1491, in Rymer, V. 12. p. 449, 453, 431, 435.

<sup>132</sup> There seems to have been too much anxiety in Henry to be repaid his expenses, and too much caution in the government of Bretagne against him. Before his troops were admitted into Nantz, an oath was exacted from him, that they should go out at the first request. Rym. p. 452; and she agreed to deliver to him Morlaix, but to have its revenues, on paying him 6,000 gold crowns a-year. p. 488.



1497.

of the province<sup>133</sup>. Maximilian, also wooed, and was privately contracted or married to her by proxy<sup>131</sup>; but after some vacillations she decided the competition, by annulling her engagement with Maximilian, and giving her hand, and with that, the duchy, to Charles<sup>135</sup>. Henry attempted in vain, to prevent its absorption into the French monarchy. In 1491, he raised an army, expecting a coinciding force from Maximilian; but this prince was unable to raise one. Disappointed of his concurrence, Henry resolved to make a descent on France himself; and on the 6th of October passed over with his army to Calais, and there encamped. Charles again had recourse to embassies and negociations. Henry put on a warlike semblance, and besieged Boulogne; but the prize was gone. The marriage of the heiress had united it irrecoverably with the French

<sup>133</sup> Graft. 872—6. Hall, 449.

<sup>134</sup> This was in November 1489. It was not communicated to Henry till the ensuing February 1491, on which he issued new commissions of negociation. Rym. 12. p. 435—8. In the last she is called queen of the Romans; so that there was too much Machiavelian politics used on all sides. I suspect, that the Breton government thought Henry wanted to ally the duchy to England, as much as Charles sought to add it to France; while Maximilian wished to annex it to his dominions. All the four parties were finessing with each other, till Charles VIII. won both the golden apple and the Venus.

<sup>135</sup> Graft. 885—8. Hall, 451. He married her 16 Dec. 1491. The only effectual means by which Henry could have defeated Charles VIII.'s annexation of Bretagne to France, was by marrying the heiress himself; and Bernard Andreas says, that before he left Bretagne, Frances had often proposed this to him; 'sepius orando contendisset.'—MSS. Dom. A. 18. p. 168. But on this subject Henry's hand was tied. His nuptials with Elizabeth were the price of his English crown; and the nation called upon him to sacrifice all foreign interest to their domestic policy.

crown. Nothing could sever them, but battles like those of Poitiers and Agincourt, and campaigns as successful afterwards as those of Henry V.; and what he could accomplish, with the aid of Burgundy, against discontented France, in its then inferior state, was impracticable now, in her palmy state of strength, union, valor, and compact dominion<sup>136</sup>, and with the Breton nobility favoring the annexation. Henry, but unfirmly seated for some time on his own throne, felt himself unequal to dissolve an union which he might at one time have prevented; and making a peace with Charles, who agreed to reimburse his expenses, he retired from the contest<sup>137</sup>; leaving France to consolidate its acquisition of a peninsular line of coast from Dol to the Loire; which includes Brest, the greatest station of the French navy, the useful roads of the Isles of Ushant, and the convenient ports of St. Malo and L'Orient<sup>138</sup>. The maritime results of this incorpo-

<sup>136</sup> Graft. 890—5.

<sup>137</sup> One document in Rymer intimates, that Charles VIII. was to pay Henry 620,000 gold crowns, which the duchess owed him for his army, and 125,000 for the arrears of the pension of Louis XI. Rym. p. 490. The actual treaty d'Etaples, between Charles and Henry, dated 3 Sept. 1492, does not mention these payments. Its chief articles are, that the peace should last to the death of both the kings; and that it should comprise the king of the Romans and his son, p. 497. But by the conventions of the 3d of November and 10th of December, Charles became bound to pay the above sums by 25,000 livres every half year. p. 506. He submitted to be excommunicated, if he failed. p. 509. There are receipts for these payments every half year, till Charles died. Ib. p. 527, &c. There are also receipts for them from Louis XII. up to Henry's death. p. 700, &c. Pope Alexander VI. granted a bull of excommunication against Louis, if he should fail. p. 762.

<sup>138</sup> In October 1491, the chancellor's speech, on the opening

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

1497.

ration, have given a vigor to the power of France, more effective than it derived from the addition of Normandy or Guyenne, which it had wrested before, from the misdirected government of England, under Henry VI. and the Suffolk administration<sup>139</sup>.

of Parliament, stated, that the king had cause of war with France, for the dissimulation and dead faith of its government, but thought it right to temporize. Roll. Parl. 6, p. 440. He made a preliminary treaty with this country, on 3 Nov. 1492, but it was not finally ratified till Oct. 1495. Ib. 507.

<sup>139</sup> The king landed at Dover, on his return from his ineffectual expedition to France, on 17 Dec. 1492. Fab. 529.

## CHAP. IV.

*Foreign Alliances of Henry VII. His Character ; Public Views ; Death ; and Beneficial Laws.*

HENRY made an alliance with Ferdinand and Isabella, against France<sup>1</sup>; but his intercourse with the court of Spain had little other result than cordial civilities, and a contract of marriage between their daughter Catherine and his eldest son Arthur<sup>2</sup>. He made also alliances with the duke of Milan, the king of Naples, the bishop of Liege, the archduke Philip, whom his father Maximilian had set over the Low Countries, and the duke of Saxony, the governor of Friesland<sup>3</sup>. He concluded a perpetual peace with the king of Denmark, and with Portugal<sup>4</sup>; and treaties of commerce with the republic of Florence, and with the Low Countries<sup>5</sup>. He also negotiated

CHAP.  
IV.

<sup>1</sup> See it in Rymer, p. 417, and the public papers upon it, 410—3. The kingdom of Spain was consolidated by the taking of Granada from the Moors, 25 November 1491. Hall, 453. On 26 Nov. 1504, Ferdinand announced to Henry, that his queen Isabella had died that day, by his letter in Rymer, 13. p. 112; and that she had appointed him the governor of her kingdom of Castile for their daughter Joan.

<sup>2</sup> The marriage is first mentioned in the treaty of 7 May 1489, ratified 20 Sept. 1490. Ib. p. 417.

<sup>3</sup> See these in Rymer, 12, p. 429, 720, 785, 576, and 13, p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> Rym. 12, p. 374, 387.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. 12, p. 389, and 13, p. 132. One article allows the fishers of both nations to fish freely in every place without licence or passport.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

1497.

with the city of Riga, concerning some of its ships which English cruisers had taken<sup>6</sup>. He was empowered to assist Ladislaus, king of Hungary, with money against the Turks<sup>7</sup>.

The pacification with Scotland ended, after much negociation<sup>8</sup>, in a marriage between its sovereign James IV. and Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry<sup>9</sup>; an important union, as it occasioned the house of Stewart to succeed to the English crown. The marriage of Catherine, the princess of Spain, with Arthur, was also accomplished<sup>10</sup>. She landed at Plymouth, the 4th of October 1501<sup>11</sup>; and on the 12th of November, made her entry from Lambeth into the metropolis<sup>12</sup>. She was soon after married to the prince, then but fourteen years old. He lived

<sup>6</sup> Rym. 12, p. 701.

<sup>7</sup> Ib. 13, p. 4, 5.

<sup>8</sup> See these at first in 1487 with James III. in Rymer, 12, p. 328, and after his death in many truces in the same volume. In 1497 Henry issued letters patent, agreeing that his differences with Scotland, should be determined by the judgment of Ferdinand and Isabella, p. 671.

<sup>9</sup> A pope's bull of dispensation was on 4 kal. Aug. 1500, obtained for this marriage. Rym. p. 765. The treaty of marriage, dated 24th of January 1502, is in p. 787. The lady was only 12 years old on the 29th of November 1501, but Henry was not to be obliged to send her before the 1st of September 1503.

<sup>10</sup> She was the fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Her portion was to be 200,000 crowns of gold, one-half to be paid on her reaching England, and the rest in two years. Her dowry was to be 23 or 25,000 crowns. Rym. 417. See also the official instrument, p. 754, 780.

<sup>11</sup> Fab. 533.

<sup>12</sup> Graft. 935. For a full and picturesque account of her reception in England, and of the jousts and banquets given on the occasion, which are curious for displaying the expiring ceremonies of chivalry; see the MS. detail printed by Hearne, in 5 *Lel. Collect.* 352—373.



only a few months, after these premature nuptials<sup>13</sup>; and Henry his brother, who had been made duke of York, was now declared prince of Wales<sup>14</sup>; and by a dispensation from the pope, was soon afterwards wedded to his brother's widow<sup>15</sup>; an union which ended in that celebrated divorce, to which the Protestant religion owed its first legal establishment in England. Arthur's mother rapidly followed him to the grave<sup>16</sup>, and Henry began afterwards to negotiate for another wife<sup>17</sup>; but either his illness or Philip's death, the brother of the intended queen, changing this intention, he made a treaty of marriage between his second daughter Mary, and Charles, then archduke of Austria and prince of

<sup>13</sup> He died on the 2d of April 1502. There is a full detail of his state interment printed by Hearne, 5 *Lel. Col.* 373.

<sup>14</sup> The patent so creating her, dated the 26th of June 1502, is in Rymer, 13, p. 11. On the 24th of October 1503, Henry VII. made a treaty with her parent, for marrying Catharine to his son, afterwards Henry VIII. It is like the one for Arthur, excepting that Henry had received half her portion. *Rym.* 13, p. 36.

<sup>15</sup> This bull, which became the subject of so much discussion, on Henry VIII's divorce, dated 7 kal. Jan. 1503, is in Rymer, 13, p. 88.

<sup>16</sup> On the merits of this princess, it is just to her to add, the testimony of Bernard Andreas, 'From her youth, her veneration for the Supreme, and devotion to him were admirable. Her love to her brothers and sisters, was unbounded. Her affection and respect to the poor, and to religious ministers, were singularly great.' *MS. ib.* p. 168.

<sup>17</sup> The commission to John Young, concerning this incident, dated 10 May 1506, is in *Rym.* 12, p. 127. The lady was Margaret of Austria, sister of Philip, then the governor of the Low Countries. Her dowry was to have been 300,000 French crowns, and an annuity, during the marriage, of 3,850 more, *lb.* But Philip died that year, and the treaty was not completed.

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.  
1497.

Spain, who reigned afterwards the celebrated emperor Charles v.<sup>18</sup> This prince was then only seven years old. It was actually solemnized at the end of 1508, by his substitute, who kissed the lady and put a ring on her finger<sup>19</sup>.

It was in March 1501, that sir James Tyrrell, the principal murderer of Edward V. was arrested, with his eldest son, on a charge of treason; and on the 6th of May following, perished on the scaffold. He was connected with the last insurrectionary attempt of any of the nobility. The earl of Suffolk, a descendant of the ill-fated minister of Henry VI. and son of a sister of Edward IV. enraged, because he had been compelled, by Henry's impartial justice, to stand a trial for killing a person in his passion, quitted England to join the old duchess of Burgundy. Pardoned by Henry's clemency, he again allied himself with her, in enmity against the king. This conduct excited Henry to arrest those who were accused of hostility against him. Some were imprisoned; and Tyrrell, with others, executed<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> By the treaty signed at Calais, 21st December 1507, the marriage was to take place before Easter 1508, on pain of heavy penalties. Her dowry was to have been 250,000 crowns of gold. Rym. 12, p. 171. On 26th October 1808, an instrument was signed by Maximilian and Charles, appointing a lord of Bergen-op-Zoom to attend to solemnize these nuptials in the name of Charles; and it mentions, that Henry's illness, from which he had recovered, had occasioned the delay of the ceremony. Ib.

<sup>19</sup> The official instrument stating this, and the words of their mutual affiance, on 17th of December 1508, is in Rym. 12, p. 236.—Charles, with permission of his grandfather Maximilian, pledged to Henry a jewel, called, 'the rich fleur de lys,' weighing in its gold and stones 211 ounces, for 50,000 crowns. Ib. 239.

<sup>20</sup> Graft. 937—9.

In estimating the character and reign of Henry, too narrow views have been taken; and the difficulties amid which he had to act, have not been sufficiently contemplated.

CHAP.  
IV.  
REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

He may be considered as the great re-founder of the English monarchy. He terminated the agitations and danger of the throne, which had almost become a Polish sovereignty: an aristocracy of many petty kings, obeying the nominal and paramount one no longer than they pleased; and choosing or deposing him, and changing the dynasty, as it chanced to gratify their passions, or to suit their varying interests. This power and custom disappeared from England, after Henry VII. had acceded. The great nobility shook and disposed of the crown no more; though various attempts were made against Henry, to renew such anti-national disorders. He gave the English crown a permanent stability; and he meant to do so. One of his greatest aims was to rescue it out of the dictatorial tyranny, both of the nobility and the church establishment, who had each at various periods, chained, threatened, and subverted it; and to rest it on the general interests and affections and prosperity of the country. He considered the whole nation as one great family, headed by himself; and he depressed the two classes that had so long maintained a disproportionate degree of power, to the prejudice of the universal improvement and comfort.

These plans necessarily produced much obloquy; yet even in his own days, his merit was felt amid all the opposing interests and prejudices that attacked him; and he died with the epithet fixed upon

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

1497.

him, of a second Solomon<sup>21</sup>. He was so respected abroad, that three popes of Rome elected him, before all the other reigning kings, as the "chief defensor" of christendom; and sent him by three successive embassies, three swords and caps of maintenance<sup>22</sup>. He conquered his numerous enemies, "by his great policy and wisdom, more than by shedding of blood or cruel war"<sup>23</sup>.

It was essential to his great public objects, that he should break down the power of the unruly aristocracy, which was reviving in new trunks and ramifications, from the injuries it had received during the civil wars. He saw, that one necessary means was, to wean the minds of Englishmen from that love of war, to which their courage and activity of spirit made them at that time so peculiarly prone; and the education for which, made his nobility too martial for the safety of the throne, and for the tranquillity of the kingdom. With this view, he not only professed to love and seek peace, and made it, as lord Bacon says<sup>24</sup>, the usual preface in his treaties, that when Christ came into the world, peace was sung by angels; and when he left it, he bequeathed peace as their great characteristic to all his followers; but he also caused his chancellor to give his parliament one of the wisest lectures on the only just causes of war, that it had ever, up to that time, heard<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> Fabian, then alive, says, 'he may most congruely, above all earthly princes, be called the second Salomon, for his great sapience and acts.' p. 537.

<sup>22</sup> Fabian, 537.

<sup>23</sup> Ib.

<sup>24</sup> Bacon, 635.

<sup>25</sup> See it in Parl. Rolls, 6, p. 440.

Henry was not averse to state, but he used it for its kingly effect and public utility, not for his personal exaltation<sup>26</sup>. He made his royal ceremonials auxiliary to his great design of occupying, civilizing, and weakening his nobility; and weaning them from that turbulence, in which they had till his reign, chiefly sought their consequence, and employed their time<sup>27</sup>. The splendid exhibitions caused an emulous rivalry, which exhausted their means, but satisfied their vanity; and the joust and tournament which he patronized, the harmless semblance of war and peaceful fountains of popular applause, gave them enough of the bustle and parade of military dress and display, to keep them from the reality, and to supersede the desire for its occurrence. Their tastes, by this wise management, increased for peaceful grandeur, and domestic comforts; and his reign may be considered as the completion of that transition of the warring baron to the pompous lord, which has since advanced to the elegant gentleman and highly cultivated mind<sup>28</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.  
REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

<sup>26</sup> Grafton mentions, 'He so much abhorred pride and arrogance, that he was ever sharp and quick to them which were noted or spotted with that crime.' p. 948.

<sup>27</sup> Grafton adds, 'There was no man with him, though never so much in his favor, or having never so much authority, that either durst or could do any thing as his own phantasie did serve him, without the consent or agreement of the other.' p. 948.

<sup>28</sup> The stately splendor in which he indulged his nobility and people, perhaps, more than himself, may be seen in his manner of holding his royal feasts at Christmas, 4 *Lel. Col.* 234—7; and at Easter, and St. George, and Whitsuntide, 238—248; on the queen's taking her chamber, at her lying-in, 249; and on the creation of Arthur prince of Wales, 250; and the christening of the princess, 20—7; on the fiancial of this lady with the king of



It was Henry's steady and determined pursuit of this great object, and the effective means which he adopted for attaining it, which has given that pecuniary reproach to his character, that has been so often repeated by misconception and by rote. It is as true of greatness as of war, that money is its sinews; therefore, when Henry caused the illegal actions of his nobility and gentry to be pursued and punished by fines, he took the most effectual way to disable and reduce them to that subordination, which the common welfare demanded. It was their revenues, which annexed to their arm and voice such multitudes of retainers; and which had so often enabled them to stand embattled against the crown. Hence, when lord Oxford, on receiving a visit from Henry, chose to display a military retinue which alarmed the king, although he was told, that they were not usually attendant, but had been specially provided to do him honor; he wisely replied, although to a friend, "My lord! I must not suffer my laws to be broken, in my presence—my attorney general must speak to you about this;" and this legal officer enforced the subsisting statutes, that forbade retainers, so effectually against the earl, that he was obliged to pay a fine of 15,000 marks<sup>29</sup>. The true friend of the crown could not have made the king's visit, the pretence of reviving the proud custom of numerous retainers. It was an act of selfish display, that would have been eagerly imitated, on other pretexts, if the present attempt had

Scotland, 258—64; and on her departure from England, and marriage in Scotland, 265—300.

<sup>29</sup> Bacon, 630.

been passed over unpunished<sup>30</sup>. We may regard, with few exceptions, Henry's enforcement of pecuniary penalties, as part of his wise means to disable faction and oppression; though the very good he achieved by it, created in his own time, the imputation from those whom it corrected, that avarice, and not the public benefit, was his motive<sup>31</sup>. When we read in a writer who was present at the time, that lord Strange, the son of Stanley, brought to the king, before the battle of Stoke, a great host, only from his father's folks and his own, sufficient of themselves to have beaten all the king's enemies<sup>32</sup>, we cannot but feel that the crown was in continual jeopardy, while any nobleman could, from his own resources, raise such a force.

CHAP.  
III.  
REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

Another direction of his public care, was to make the law the universal, impartial, silently-ruling, but irresistible sovereign of all classes of the community.

<sup>30</sup> That Henry prosecuted, to the fines and penalties he levied, for the purpose of humbling those who were too great, or too violent, for the good of all, is not the fancy of the present writer. It was his own account of his motives. Our old chronicler has mentioned this fact. 'He did use his rigour only, *as he said himself*, to bring low and abate the high stomachs of the wild people, nourished and brought up in seditious factions and civil rebellions, and not for the greedy desire of riches, or hunger of money.' Graft. 949.

<sup>31</sup> So Grafton intimates. 'Such as were afflicted, would cry out and say, that it was done more for the desire of gain and profit, than for any prudent policy or politic provision.' p. 949.

<sup>32</sup> 4 *Lel. Collect.* p. 213. How greatly the penalties exacted from the nobility, must have weakened their power, we may judge from observing, that one of the articles in Empson's account of the sums he received, is '69,900 *l.*, the condemnation of lord Bergavenny, for such retainers as he was indicted for in Kent.' *Harl. MS.* N° 1,877. The same *MS.* shows, that lord Stanley was fined 6,000 *l.*

The great and restless disliked, but the people at large always love, the reign and exercise of law. It is the only weapon by which the inferior and the weak can safely and effectually combat against power. It is at once the shield and sword of all, in their civil transactions; and that it might become so, it was necessary to reduce, and to accustom, the higher orders to its domination; and to cause all ranks to feel, in order that all might recognize and obey, its authority and corrective force. To produce this effect, was another great cause of the king's enforcing the legal penalties. It was as important to deter the smaller orders from joining the wealthier, or the disaffected, as to abase and circumscribe those. Every insurrection exhibits to us a long train of minor names, who chiefly pursued it; and especially after the great lords became more cautious, and put their inferiors forward into the front of the battle. The public peace could not therefore be secured, until the middling and lower orders had been taught to know, that the arm of law could reach them, and to dread its inflictions. Viewed in this light, what has been called his avarice, was in truth his clemency, mildness and enlightened judgment; and his penal severities were often mitigated by an active kindness towards the offending<sup>33</sup>. He found the fines also useful in preventing those taxations which, though often imposed under other sovereigns, had twice caused insurrections in the country.

<sup>33</sup> So Grafton. 'To this severity was joined a certain merciful pity, which he did often show to such as had offended, and were amerced. For, such of his subjects as were fined by his justices, to their great impoverishing, he, at one time or another, did help, relieve, and set forward.' p. 949.

That the king expressly acted on the principle of making the law the master of all, we see by the speech he caused to be made to the parliament, in January 1503, on the inestimable value to every state, of justice and law. The chancellor enforced on their attention, that justice was the queen of the virtues; that without it kingdoms were but great dens of robbers; that all states were upheld by the laws, and that justice was their architect; that it was the most honorable, the most useful, and the most pleasant of all things. His eloquent oration, ending with this peroration from St. Austin; "Despise dungeons, despise bonds, despise exile, despise death—but let all men love justice:" is said to have had a wonderful effect in animating the distinguished hearers, to an ardent attachment to this great social virtue<sup>34</sup>.

But it is not probable, from the usual effect of human imperfections, that the king could have always pursued his wisest objects, or had them enforced, in an unexceptionable manner. Misinformation, wrong judgment, frauds of others, occasional passion in himself, official harshness in executing right sentences, abuse of legal power in those who enforced it, would not unfrequently convert law into tyranny, and useful fines into oppressive exactions. Law is a weapon ever liable to be misused; and severe are the wounds of its unprincipled blows. Many grievances, therefore, must have accompanied

<sup>34</sup> See the Speech in Rolls Parl. 6, p. 520. Grafton notices, that 'He was an indifferent and sure justicier, by the which one thing he allured to him the hearts of many people, because they lived quietly and in rest, out of all oppression and molestation of the nobility and rich persons.'

BOOK  
I.REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

Henry's legal inflictions; and the experience of human nature assures us, that the accumulation of treasure tends as much to increase the desire, as to lessen the delicacy as to the means of acquiring it. Hence, when it is said, that the king allowed or encouraged Empson and Dudley, his lawyers, to indict "divers subjects accused of sundry crimes," to extort great fines<sup>35</sup>; and that they executed their commission with an insatiable and oppressive rapacity, that blemished his own character; some portion of their misconduct may be attributable to himself; to his regard rather to the pecuniary results, than to the justice of the prosecutions. .He may have occasionally forgotten the Ciceronian maxim, which all ages concur to verify, that the Summum Jus, becomes also the Summa Injustitia<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Bacon, 629. The king was reported to have left 1,800,000 *l.* sterling in his treasury. *Ib.* 635.

<sup>36</sup> Among the Harleian MS. in the British Museum, is one of the accounts of Dudley, of the fines and dues he received, which we shall transcribe. It discovers one fact, not exclusively attributable to Henry, but belonging to the age; that a number of offices were purchased or paid for by money, which ought never to have been venal.

' Here followeth all such obligations and sums of money, as sir Edmond Dudley have received of any person, for any fine or duty to be paid to the use of our sovereign, Henry VII. since the first time that I, the said Edmond, entered the service of our said sovereign, that is, the 9th September, 20 year; all which obligations and sums, I, said Edmond, have delivered to our said sovereign, and to John Heron, to the use of his highness. And so, at this quote day, the *24th January, the year aforesaid*, there remains in my keeping and custody, no obligation, and no sums.

Churchwarden of St. Stephen's, Coleman-street, in hand, 25*l.*  
25*l.* by obligation.

Carell and his son, for their pardons, 1,000 *l.* Recognizance, 900 *l.*  
100 *l.* in money.



Henry was not an old man when he died<sup>37</sup>, but the infirmities of age advanced prematurely upon

CHAP.  
IV.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

<sup>37</sup> He was a few months short of 53. He had reigned 23 years 8 months.

21 H. VII. City of London, for the confirmation of their liberties, 5,000 marks, by fine.

Several obligations for Richard Corson.

John Arundel, for his discharge of a certain sum claimed to be due.

Sir James Tyroll, 100 marks.

R. Buckhard, for the office of customarship in the port of London, 125 marks, money; 125 marks by obligation.

J. Warwick, 100 marks, money; 100 marks by obligation; and 20 *l.*; for license to make clerks.

Merchant Tailors, for the charter of their liberties being inrolled in London, 100 *l.* money.

For pardon of M. Curtis, late customar of London, for discharge of his offences in the office, received 500 marks.

J. W. for a bailiwick, 20 marks, money.

Office of keeping the great wardrobe, granted to A. W. 200 *l.*

22 H. VII. License to C. Brandon, to marry lady Mortimer, 40 *l.*

Form of your average of London, 20 *l.*

Alderman, for your gracious favor in his being sheriff, 100 *l.* money.

Restitution of bishop of Ely to his temporalities, 3,800 *l.* obligation; 2,000 marks, money.

Your clerkship of Hull, 106 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

Prior, for amortizing and appropriation of a priory in Essex, 400 *l.*

Adventurers for king's favor, going to Flanders, 200 *l.*

Alderman of London, for liberty to be mayor of the staple at Westminster, for life, 100 *l.*

23 H. VII. Men of London, incorporated, for 20 *l.*—Delivered to king his great books, called 'Jura Regalia.'

For one Ratclyff, for the office of clerk of the records in the Tower, 20 *l.* money.

Pardons of Knosworth, 500 *l.*; Shore, 500 *l.*; Grove, 133 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

Alderman of London, 1,033 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

To be porter of Calais, 200 *l.*

Bishop of Durham, an indenture, by which he was bound to pay king 20,000 *l.*

him. In a letter to his mother<sup>38</sup>, breathing the truest filial kindness, though it was not long, he

<sup>38</sup> Some of his expressions show his good feeling. ‘Madam! my most intirely well beloved lady and mother? I recommend me unto

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Abbot of Cistercians, for confirmation of their franchises and privileges, and to to use their free elections without license, 5,000 *l*.

Cardinal B. Bath, according to agreement, 500 *l*.

P. C. for his pardon, 300 marks; obligation, 1,000 *l*.

P. H. shall ship so much merchandizes in three years, as he shall pay, for the customs and subsidies thereof, 1,000 *l*. to the king’s coffers.

Bishop of Bath, 100 *l*. a-year, so long as he shall be bishop.

J. Y. pardon, 500 marks.

Discharge for buying certain alloms, contrary to restraint, 200 *l*.

License for butt of malmsey, 5 *l*.

Ditto, 210 butts, 70 *l*. 3 *s*. 4 *d*.

Delivered three exemplifications, under the seal of king’s bench, of the condemnation of the lord Bergavenny, for such retainers as he was indicted of in Kent, amounting unto, for his part only, after the rate of the moneths, 69,900 *l*.

For king’s favor in deanery of York, 1,000 marks.

Pardon for Alderman, 1,000 marks.

M. Rede, for king’s favor to him, in the office of chief justice of common pleas, 400 marks.

Clerk of the peace, Warwick, 40 marks.

Earl Derby’s pardon, 6,000 *l*.

Poor of Christchurch in London, 500 marks, for their free election, restitution, and king’s assent.

21 H. VII. Discharge of kidell’s, mills, &c.; of Sir J. S. 300 marks.

Kidell of earl Derby, 20 *l*.

—— abbot Peterborough, 93 *l*. 6 *s*. 8 *d*.

Mastership of king’s mint, 400 marks.

Weyership of works, 100 *l*.

Prior of Christchurch, restitution of temporalities, 900 marks.

License for 1,020 butts of malmsey, and botolarge of same, 391 *l*.

Ditto, 900 butts, 500 marks.

To be delivered to king, one carpet, 12 yards long, and 3½ broad, forfeit to him by one Currant, of Exeter.

My lord of Canterbury, for scape of 16 men, convicted, 1,600 *l*. and for the restitution of his temporalities, 1,064 *l*.

complains, that his sight was impairing, and that he had taken three days to write it<sup>39</sup>. A severe illness increased upon him during the last few years of his life; but in the Lent before he died, he began to look forward to his next change of existence, and to rectify some points of his conduct, in case he should survive. He told his confessor, that he had determined on three things<sup>40</sup>; 1st, a true reformation of all the officers and ministers of his laws, that justice from thenceforward, might be truly and indifferently executed in all causes; 2d, that the promotions of the church, which were in his disposal, should be thenceforward given to able men, who were virtuous

unto you in the most humble and lowly wise that I can, beseeching you of your daily and continual blessings.'—After noticing her requests to him, he adds, 'all which things, according to your desire and pleasure, I have, with all my heart and good will, granted unto you. And, my dame, not only in this, but in all other things that I may know should be to your honour and pleasure, I shall be as glad to please you as your heart can desire it; and I know well that I am as much bounden so to do, as any creature living, for the great and singular motherly love and affection that it hath pleased you, at all times, to bear towards me; wherefore, mine own most loving mother! in my most hearty manner, I thank you; beseeching you, for your good continuance in the same.'—Sermon on Margaret, p. 38. It is pleasing to read this effusion of natural sentiment from a king near the age of fifty, to his aged parent.

<sup>39</sup> He says, 'Verily, madam, my sight is nothing so perfect as it has been, and I know well it will appair daily. Wherefore, I trust that you will not be displeased, though I write not so often with mine own hand; for, on my faith, I have been three days ere I could make an end of this letter.' Ib. p. 40.

<sup>40</sup> I take these facts from the bishop of Rochester's funeral sermon, delivered over his body on the 10th of May 1509. Harl. MS. N<sup>o</sup> 7,030, p. 209. He discharged all prisoners about the city, that lay for fees or debts under forty shillings. Bacon, p. 634.

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

and well learned<sup>41</sup>; 3d, that as to those, who were in jeopardy from his laws, for things formerly done, he would grant a pardon generally to all. These resolutions imply, that he felt some deficiencies in all these points. He often mentioned to his most confidential attendants, that if it should please the Most High to prolong his life, they should see him a new and a changed man. He acknowledged, with great humility, the singular benefits he had received from the divine favor; and accused himself of ingratitude, in not having more assiduously promoted the honor, and preferred the will and pleasure of that Sovereign<sup>42</sup>, to whom compared, all others are but an insignificant name.

He had been always attentive to his religious duties, according to the fashion of his day. Believing in the efficacy of prayer for his welfare, he had a collect daily said for him in all the churches; and in many years, about Lent, he sent money for 10,000 masses to be recited in his behalf. He gave both daily and annual alms to the poor and needy; and never heard of a virtuous man in his kingdom, but he was anxious for his prayers; and settled on them pensions, some of ten marks, on others ten pounds<sup>43</sup>.

As his malady advanced he submitted to the Romish ceremony of aneling or anointing, for which

<sup>41</sup> In a letter to his mother, in which he mentions his desire to make his confessor, Dr. Fisher, a bishop, he says, 'by the promotion of such a man I knew well, it should courage many others to live virtuously, and to take such ways as he doth. I have, in my days, promoted many a man unadvisedly, and I would now make some recompensation to promote some good and virtuous men.'—Ex. Regist. Col. Jo. Sermon, p. 41.

<sup>42</sup> Harl. MS. N<sup>o</sup> 7030. p. 210.

<sup>43</sup> Ib.

he offered every part of his body. He performed his penance with that compunction and those tears, which were then so valued; sometimes weeping and sobbing three-quarters of an hour. The sacrament of the altar, he received with the deepest reverence, advancing to it on his knees. He contemplated the image on the cross, that was held before him, with earnest devotion; holding up his hands; embracing it; and trying to lift up his head, as it approached. For twenty-seven hours the agonies of death were upon him. His pains were fierce and sharp, and almost unceasing. He called repeatedly upon the Saviour he adored, with fervent supplications for ease and succor. "O! my blessed Jesus—O! my Lord! deliver me—deliver my soul from these deadly pangs, from this corruptible body—O! deliver my soul from everlasting death." It pierced the hearts of his attending friends, to see his agonies and to hear his groans<sup>44</sup>; at length, the hour of happy release arrived; his corporeal frame became insensible; and his emancipated spirit flew to regions more congenial with its separated nature.

The encomium of the affectionate bishop, is warm, but seems not exaggerated<sup>45</sup>. The less partial and

<sup>44</sup> Harl. MS. p. 212—217.

<sup>45</sup> 'His politique wisdom in governance it was singular; his wit always quick and ready, pythly, and substantial; his memory, fresh and holding; his experience notable; his counsels fortunate and taken by wise deliberation; his speech gracious in divers languages; his person goodly and amiable; his natural complexion of the purest mixture. His mighty power was dreaded every where, not only within his realms, but without also. His dealing, in time of perils and dangers, was cold and sober, with great hardiness.' Fun. Sermon, Harl. MS. 7030. p. 208.



## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

more frigid chroniclers, are little less commendatory<sup>46</sup>. His pleasing countenance interested his subjects<sup>47</sup>; and his manners and qualities displayed the genuine virtues of a wise Christian and kingly heart<sup>48</sup>. In danger prompt, self-present and determined, his spirit always rose to the necessary energy, and devised and performed what the exigence demanded. It was his firm and lofty wish always to look his perils in the face, and to deal with them hand to hand<sup>49</sup>.

His regard for trade was attested, not only by his laws for its benefit, but by his personal and disinterested kindnesses to those who conducted it<sup>50</sup>; and

<sup>46</sup> Thus Grafton. 'Of wit in all things, quick and prompt; of a princely stomach and haute courage. In great perils, doubtful affrays, and matters of weighty importance, supernatural, and in a manner divine. Such things as he went about, he did advisedly, and not without great deliberation and breathing.' p. 948.

<sup>47</sup> In his progresses, his person is thus described by Grafton,— 'Of body but lean and spare, albeit mighty and strong therewith; of personage and stature, somewhat higher than the meane sort of men be; of a wonderful beauty and fair complexion; of countenance merry and smiling, especially in his communications; his eyes grey, his hair thin.' p. 948.

<sup>48</sup> 'He was sober, moderate, honest, affable, courteous, and bounteous.' Bern. Andreas, the preceptor of his son Arthur, describes him in three neat lines;

'Princeps, ingenio nitente præstans;

Fama; religione; comitate;

Sensu; sanguine; gratia; decore.'

MSS. Domit. and in Speed's Hist. p. 740.

<sup>49</sup> Speed, p. 755. To please the citizens of London, and to honor trade, he became a member of the Merchant Tailor's company. Ib. 748.

<sup>50</sup> Thus Grafton says, that to the merchants 'he, himself, of his own goodness, lent money largely, *without any gain or profit*, to the intent that merchandize, being of all crafts the chief art, and

was rewarded by the augmented affluence and sustained prosperity of the country<sup>51</sup>. He accepted the offer of Columbus, to make his adventurous voyage; and would have patronized it, if he had not been forestalled by Isabella<sup>52</sup>. He gave his sanction to the maritime expedition of the Cabots, which discovered Newfoundland<sup>53</sup>; and which was at Henry's expense<sup>54</sup>; and also to other adventurers<sup>55</sup>. He

to all men both most profitable and necessary, might be the more plentifully used, haunted, and employed, in his realms.' p. 949.

<sup>51</sup> 'He, by his high policy, marvellously enriched his realm and himself; and yet left his subjects in high wealth and prosperity. The proof whereof is apparent, by the great abundance of gold and silver yearly brought into this realm, both in plate, money, and bullion, by merchants passing and repassing with merchandize.' Graft. 949.

<sup>52</sup> The son of Columbus states, in his life of his father, that Columbus sent his brother Bartholomew to Henry VII. to offer his service in a voyage of discovery; who, on the 13th of February 1488 (1489), made a map of the world, and presented it to Henry. The king accepted his proposal, 'con allegro volto,' with a cheerful countenance; and sent to call him; but before Columbus heard of the success, he had engaged himself to Isabella. Hakluyt's voyages, 1. p. 507—8.

<sup>53</sup> Henry's letters patent to John Cabot, a Venetian, and his sons Sebastian and Sancho, to sail to all parts of the world under his flag, with five ships, to discover new countries, and to take possession of them as his governors and deputies, paying him one-fifth of their profits; and to import their merchandize free of all custom duties, is dated the 5th of March 1496. Rym. Fœd. 12. p. 595. It was in the summer of 1496, that Sebastian Cabot says that he sailed. Hackluyt, p. 512.

<sup>54</sup> So Baptiste Ramusius says, that S. Cabot wrote to him, 'at the charges of king Henry VII.' Hakl. 513. Gomara also mentions, that the ships were rigged at Henry's costs. Ib. 514. So Fabian.

<sup>55</sup> On the 9th of December 1502, a patent was granted to Hugh Eliot and Thomas Ashurst, merchants of Bristol; and to Jean and Gonzales Fernandez, Portuguese, to search for new countries. 13 Rym. 37.

BOOK  
I.REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

favored every national improvement, that was then understood or pursued; and fulfilled his own early wishes, of ruling for the benefit of his subjects. No preceding sovereign had so well or so abundantly combined the personal, moral, political and intellectual qualities, of the true English king. His real character seems to have been, sedate thought, well-governed mind, calm temper, active spirit, extensive foresight, large views and enlightened judgment. His feelings were subjected to his reason. Early adversity had excited energy, but subdued enthusiasm. Danger made him cautious, but not cowardly. He never enterprized beyond his power of achieving. He never risked the possessed, for any superior but uncertain good. His habits were domestic and moral. His social demeanor easy, kind and interesting. He made religion a principle, a duty and a habit; and he found it his best refuge, an unfailing consolation, and his most permanent felicity. But state policy, and the resenting struggles of attacked power, sometimes broke into the unity of his moral rectitude; and have left blots, which if he had not been violently placed in his high station, would not have disfigured him. Yet the clemency and forbearing sagacity, with which he met rebellion by amnesties, and by limited severities after its suppression, exhibited a new feature in the use of kingly authority, and became a legacy of wisdom to his successors. He preferred to correct, by the milder punishment of pecuniary penalties, than to mutilate the body, doom it to imprisonment, or take away life<sup>56</sup>; but the introduction of this

<sup>56</sup> Thus, in 1498, Henry sent commissioners to pardon the adherents of Perkin and the Cornish leader, on their compounding

improvement in our legislation, instead of being referred to his discerning policy, or to his philanthropy, has been imputed only to his avarice, and stigmatized as rapacity<sup>57</sup>. Whoever transcends his age, must expect to be censured by those whom he excels. Yet, the nation felt his value, and became steadily attached to his family; and improved under their government, far more than under any prior dynasty. His direct male line ceased in queen Elizabeth; but the descendants of his daughter Margaret succeeded in the Stewarts. The superior Brunswick line, which has given a stability to our civil and religious liberties, and advanced our national progression and accomplishments, is also, through her, a branch of Henry's descendants.

for their lives by paying fines. See the commission in 12 Rym. p. 696, &c. This mild commutation of the death of treason, for the light punishment of a pecuniary penalty, deserves more applause than it has received.

<sup>57</sup> It is surprising to read, in sir William Blackstone, as characterizing all his reign, that 'his ministers, not to say the king himself, were more industrious in hunting out prosecutions *upon old* and forgotten penal laws, in order to extort money from the subject, than in framing *any new* beneficial regulations. In short, there is hardly a statute in this reign, introductive of a new law, or modifying the old, but what, either directly or obliquely tended to the emolument of the exchequer.' V. 4. p. 429. These sentences, not very consistent, lead us to suppose, that our elegant commentator had forgotten this king's laws, when he framed these censures. But even Bacon himself has written Henry's life, in many parts, more like the attorney-general of James I. than like that immortal philosopher, whose name is associated with all that we most respect in English mind, and value in true science. A succinct review of Henry's laws will show both their objects and utilities.

## BOOK

## I.

## SUBSTANCE OF THE LAWS OF HENRY VII.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

IT is lord Verulam's just remarks on Henry's legislation, that 'his laws are deep; not vulgar: not made upon the spur of a particular occasion, for the present; but acts of providence of the future: to make the estate of his people still more and more happy; after the manner of the legislators in ancient and heroical times<sup>1</sup>.'

To divest his great men of that armed force which, by retaining or enlisting large retinues under their family liveries or badges, they had always ready for their violent purposes; and to destroy those means and seminaries of rebellious sedition, he pursued Richard's system of prohibiting both the giving and receiving any retainers; and he caused the lords and commons to swear, not to receive or aid any felon, or retain any man, or give liveries, signs or tokens; nor make or assent to any riots or unlawful assembly; nor impede the king's writs; nor bail any felon<sup>2</sup>, or liveries. He constituted, or revived in a more effective shape, a new legal tribunal—the Star-chamber, by which three of his cabinet ministers, calling to their aid a bishop and two justices, were authorized to punish all misdoers in a summary way, according to the existing statutes, but without being convicted in due form of law<sup>3</sup>. To this new engine of legal power, which, from the indefinite and arbitrary authority it assumed, became afterwards peculiarly oppressive, was committed the repression of all giving of liveries, tokens and retainers, and unlawful maintenance; and of all riots and lawless assemblies. The retaining of any of the king's tenants, was also forbidden<sup>4</sup>; and new penal provisions were enacted against all disturbances of the peace, by riotous and illegal assemblies, under-servants, receivers, stewards, or bailiffs of lordships<sup>5</sup>.

Human life was taken more vigilantly under the care of the crown; and its safety was enhanced, and a deeper sense of its value produced, by judicial protection. An act passed, reciting, that murders were daily committed; and that the people in towns, who saw the violence, would not arrest the murderers. The coroners were therefore commanded to execute diligently, their

<sup>1</sup> P. 596.<sup>2</sup> 6 Rolls Parl. 287—8.<sup>3</sup> Statutes of the Realm, V. 2. p. 509, 10.<sup>4</sup> Ib. 522.<sup>5</sup> Ib. 573, 657.



duty of inspecting and inquiring into all violent deaths; and murderers were to be arraigned and tried without delay<sup>6</sup>. The female sex were further guarded, by its being made felony to take them away against their will; and by subjecting the procurers and receivers to the same penalty<sup>7</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

The negligence and misconduct of justices of the peace were reprobated. They were ordered to have the king's proclamation on their duties, read at the sessions four times a year; and all persons aggrieved, whom they would not redress, were directed to complain to the judge on the assize, or to the chancellor, or to the king<sup>8</sup>. The power given by Richard, to every justice to bail, having been abused, the concurrence of two justices was made necessary<sup>9</sup>; and the powers of these magistrates were extended to punish for the offence of unlawful assemblies, retainers, and giving liveries and signs<sup>10</sup>, and to regulate alehouses<sup>11</sup>. After stating that the king peculiarly desired the prosperity and restfulness of the land, a statute was made, directing, that all idle vagabonds, and persons living suspiciously should be set in the stocks for three days, and put out of the district; and that all beggars should be sent to their last or usual residence, or place of birth. No clerk of an university was to be excused from this law, unless he could produce his chancellor's letters; nor sailor, without his captain's; nor any traveller, without a document from the town where he had landed<sup>12</sup>.

All these provisions had the same object in view, that of promoting and maintaining the public peace; and of repressing, in every part, and from every class of the nation, all illegal violences and wrongs. But the great and sagacious blow that was secretly given to the injurious power of the great, was by coinciding with the temporary desire of some, which the king's foresight perceived would continually increase, of disposing of their possessions as they pleased. The great aristocracy of the country had been chiefly made and upheld, by binding the immediate possessor from alienating his land by these strong chains of the feudal entails, with which every estate was fettered, and by the operation of which it descended from heir to heir, little impaired, and often accumulating. Henry's wise plan was, to let the nobility break

<sup>6</sup> Statutes of the Realm, V. 2. p. 510, 11.

<sup>7</sup> Ib. 512.

<sup>8</sup> Ib. 537.

<sup>9</sup> Ib. 513.

<sup>10</sup> Ib. 573.

<sup>11</sup> Ib. 569.

<sup>12</sup> Ib. 569, 656.

## BOOK

## I.

REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

down their own landed power as much as they chose, by allowing them to dispose of their possessions as they wished. This wise plan had the merit of law giving efficiency to inclination, which is always pleasing, and not, as it is often obliged to do, of imposing disagreeable command. Hence more facility was given to the alienation of landed property: and especially by that statute which made the proceeding, called by lawyers, Fines, that had been invented before to counteract the effect of the feudal entails, an effective and conclusive bar to all hostile claimants, after five years had expired<sup>13</sup>. This act made future alienations of landed property, under this form of assurance, so binding, as to give that security to future purchasers, which encouraged them to buy; and commerce multiplying the means of purchase, and the necessities of the landed interest disposing them to sell, many a large estate became gradually divided among a number of smaller proprietors, by whom the state was no longer endangered. The wants of the age called for such a legislative provision; and regal prudence gladly adopted it.

It was an important privilege granted to the inferior classes, of admitting the poor to sue in *formâ pauperis*<sup>14</sup>. This threw open, to the most needy, the gates of legal redress against a rich oppressor. It was no less humane than important to the stability of the throne, to enact, that no person who served the reigning king in war, should be attainted of treason<sup>15</sup>. The extortions of sheriffs and under-sheriffs were repressed<sup>16</sup>. That every proprietor of land might enjoy his sport, no man was to take pheasants or partridges on another's estate without his leave; nor to take, even on his own ground, eggs of hawks or swans, nor to bear certain English hawks, nor to import foreign hawks<sup>17</sup>. This may be called the foundation of our game laws. The public morals were attended to, in the prohibition of apprentices and artificers from games and diversions that were found to be connected with vice<sup>18</sup>. Usury was discountenanced<sup>19</sup>. Fraudulent deeds of gift, to cheat creditors, were made void<sup>20</sup>. Delays of final redress by writs of

<sup>13</sup> Statutes of the Realm, V. 2. p. 547. Persons in the king's service were allowed to make feoffments to the uses of their wills, without fines.

<sup>14</sup> Ib. 578.

<sup>15</sup> Ib. 568.

<sup>16</sup> Ib. 579, 654.

<sup>17</sup> Ib. 581.

<sup>18</sup> Ib. 569.

<sup>19</sup> Ib. 574.

<sup>20</sup> Ib. 514.

error, were lessened<sup>21</sup>. To keep the air of populous places pure, butchers were forbidden to kill animals within walled towns<sup>22</sup>. An act passed, to encourage an English population in the Isle of Wight<sup>23</sup>, in which it is mentioned, that many towns and villages had decayed, and the fields diked and made pastures. No one was to take more farms than one, exceeding ten marks in rent. To check the growing evil of pulling down towns, and laying lands into pasture; by which, in many parts, two or three herds-men only were living, where 200 persons had pursued their lawful labours; it was enacted, that all owners of houses, with twenty acres of land, should maintain the houses and buildings necessary for tillage<sup>24</sup>; and an attempt was made to regulate the prices of labour, which was afterwards abandoned<sup>25</sup>. Many other provisions were made for the general convenience. Perjury and corruption in officers, was severely pursued<sup>26</sup>. The fraud of the great or gentry, who had covenanted with the king to find a certain number of soldiers, taking full pay for a less quantity, and withholding, even from these, their just wages, was visited by forfeiture and imprisonment<sup>27</sup>. From a policy not immediately comprehensible, as larger dealing usually increases and improves production, valuable horses were not to be transported beyond the seas, without a license, nor any mare above the price of 6*s.* 8*d.*<sup>28</sup>. Wars becoming less suitable to the taste of the age, the heads of the law, the masters of the rolls, clerks of chancery, the judges, barons of the exchequer, attorney and solicitor-general, were released from the obligation to attend them<sup>29</sup>. The qualifications of jurors were diminished to 10*s.*<sup>30</sup>. But what seems to strike at the root of all independent use of their important functions, jurors were to be prosecuted by writs of attainr for untrue verdicts, where the value exceeded 40*l.*<sup>31</sup>. Some gross cases of corrupt use of their powers, must have occasioned an enactment so dangerous. But it was a valuable addition to the effective jurisprudence of the nation, that similar processes might be had in actions on the case, as in trespass and debt<sup>32</sup>. What are technically called Actions on the Case, present the most comprehensive means of obtaining

<sup>21</sup> Statutes of the Realm, V. 2, p. 519.

<sup>22</sup> Ib. 527.

<sup>23</sup> Ib. 540.

<sup>24</sup> Ib. 542.

<sup>25</sup> Ib. 637.

<sup>26</sup> Ib. 584, 9.

<sup>27</sup> Ib. 549.

<sup>28</sup> Ib. 578.

<sup>29</sup> Ib. 582.

<sup>30</sup> Ib. 590.

<sup>31</sup> Ib. 588, 649.

<sup>32</sup> Ib. 693.

BOOK  
I.  
REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

redress for personal and pecuniary wrongs, that the English law can provide. To relieve his people from the grievance of their property being taken, as formerly done, for the maintenance of the royal household, he obtained a fixed revenue from assigned funds for his expense, and for his wardrobe <sup>33</sup>.

Some regulations were made for the peculiar benefit of the crown and its officers. The steward, treasurer, and comptroller of the king's household, received authority to inquire into offences committed in it; and especially of conspiracies by the king's servants to murder him, his counsellors or great officers <sup>34</sup>. The patent grants of the yeomen and grooms of the crown, who did not give attendance, were made revocable at the king's pleasure <sup>35</sup>. Several legal privileges were granted to those who went abroad in the king's wars <sup>36</sup>; and he was empowered to make void all grants of land to persons who should neglect to attend him in his wars <sup>37</sup>.

### HENRY'S LAWS ON TRADE AND NAVIGATION.

THE wars and factions of the great and turbulent; the excitement they caused, the necessities they created, the supplies they needed, and the aversion to their disasters, which increased as these multiplied, made both internal and external trade more popular, beneficial and important, in the reign of Henry VII. As in Richard's time, we find the nation pursuing its commercial voyages towards the north pole, as far as Iceland; so, under Henry VII. we find them trafficking in the Mediterranean with the Venetians, in the Isle of Candia; and maintaining commercial relations with Italy, Spain, Flanders, France, Germany, and the Hanse Towns; all which places had agents and establishments in England <sup>38</sup>. The attention of Henry was directed to favor all  
mercantile

<sup>33</sup> Parl. Rolls, 6, p. 299.

<sup>34</sup> Statutes of the Realm, V. 2. p. 521.

<sup>35</sup> Ib. 533.

<sup>36</sup> Ib. 550.

<sup>37</sup> Ib. 648.

<sup>38</sup> The parliament, in 1487, levied a capitation tax of 6s. 8d. on every artificer who had not been born in England, or made a denizen, if a householder; and 2s. on all who were not householders, except servants in husbandry; and 20s. on those who  
were



mercantile enterprize, as far as the experience and judgment of commercial men then thought expedient; and more laws were made on trade during his reign, than on any other single subject. The true principles of commerce could not indeed, at that time, have been understood; we ascend to these from a practical endurance of evils, which gradually disclose to us our errors, as well as from the enjoyment of the benefits which better systems impart. It is a natural but a slow process of the human mind, to discover on what rules and actions good and evil depend; and all the regulations and conduct of our trade, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were but experiments aiming usually at some immediate good, from which later times were to discern and to deduce those true principles of commerce, which it is now the common interest of mankind to establish universally. Our ancestors were but exploring their ground, opening channels, and feeling cautiously their way. They were labouring amid ignorance, prejudice, obscurity, and obstacles of all sorts; and they deserve our applause for what they achieved, rather than our censure for what they mistook, or were unable to command or to rectify.

But Henry appears to have steadily enforced that great principle of our navigation laws, the bringing foreign produce in British ships, which has so powerfully contributed to the superiority of our navy. This rule has made the growth of our naval strength bear always a due proportion to our commerce. Hence, upon the allegation that our navy was decaying, and our mariners idle, it was enacted, that all Gascony wines and Thoulouse wood, should be imported in English ships only; and that the masters and mariners should be subjects of England. It was also directed, that no natives should freight alien ships, if English ones could be had<sup>39</sup>.

In his regulations of the woollen trade, there appears an anxiety to confine the manufacture of the raw article to English workmen; hence no one was to buy wool before the middle of August, except those who made yarn or cloth of it<sup>40</sup>. And no foreigner was to carry any out of the country, until it had received that degree of manufacture which is called barbed, rowed, and shorne.

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were brewers. And from every Venetian, Italian, Genoese, Florentine, Milanese, Catalonian, Albertine, and Lombard merchant, broker, or factor, if he had a house three months, 40*s.*; and if not a householder, 20*s.* Rolls Parl. 6, p. 402.

<sup>39</sup> Statutes of the Realm, V. 2. p. 535.

<sup>40</sup> *Ib.*



BOOK  
I.REIGN OF  
HEN. VII.

The prices of cloth and hats were limited <sup>41</sup>. Thus, our silk manufactures were encouraged, by prohibiting foreigners from bringing in girdles, ribands, laces, called silk or Cologne silk, thrown or wrought <sup>42</sup>. The citizens of London were authorized to carry all manner of goods to foreign markets <sup>43</sup>. The corporation ordinance, that no freeman of the city should go to any market or fair to sell, that all buyers might be compelled to resort to London, was made void <sup>44</sup>. Oppressive usury, and unlawful bargains, were discouraged <sup>45</sup>. Denizens were ordered to pay custom and subsidies <sup>46</sup>. Richard had compelled the Italian merchants to sell only in gross, Henry allowed them to retail <sup>47</sup>. Brokers were punished for unlawful dealing <sup>48</sup>.

To prevent frauds in the weight and working of the gold brought from Venice, Florence, and Genoa, the pound was not to be less than 12 ounces; and the metal was not to be packed differently from its outward show <sup>49</sup>.

To encourage our fishermen, foreigners were forbidden to sell salmon or other fish <sup>50</sup>. No arts or trade were to prejudice the merchants of the Hanse, who had, in London, their own Guildhall <sup>51</sup>. Englishmen were allowed to resort to the marts of Flanders, and to deal there freely, without any other exaction, than one payment of ten marks <sup>52</sup>. And to countervail a tax levied by the Venetians, upon wine, an equal imposition was placed on the malmsey, which foreigners brought into England <sup>53</sup>.

The permission to the chancellor to grant commissions of sewers, was enlarged for 25 years <sup>54</sup>. Measures and weights of brass were sent to every chief town and borough, to become standards <sup>55</sup>, and none were to sell but by these <sup>56</sup>. Upholders were punished for stuffing feather beds with improper feathers <sup>56</sup>. Itinerant pewterers were forbidden, to prevent thieving <sup>57</sup>. The rule of the river Thames, from Staines to Yenlade, was given to the lord mayor <sup>58</sup>.

The coin became an object of his attention; a new coinage was

<sup>41</sup> Stat. of the Realm, V. 2. p. 533, 554.

<sup>43</sup> Ib. 518.

<sup>46</sup> Ib. 501.

<sup>49</sup> Ib. 546.

<sup>52</sup> Ib. 639.

<sup>55</sup> Ib. 551, 570.

<sup>58</sup> Ib. 139.

<sup>44</sup> Ib.

<sup>47</sup> Ib. 508.

<sup>50</sup> Ib. 587.

<sup>53</sup> Ib. 553.

<sup>56</sup> Ib. 582.

<sup>42</sup> Ib. 506, 664.

<sup>45</sup> Ib. 515, 574.

<sup>48</sup> Ib. 515.

<sup>51</sup> Ib. 665.

<sup>54</sup> Ib. 526.

<sup>57</sup> Ib. 651.

circulated. The forging of foreign money, that was current in the kingdom, was made treason<sup>59</sup>. It was deemed of great importance to keep the precious metals forcibly in the country; few being then aware, that bullion is a flowing commodity of trade, like any other article in demand; and therefore, money was ordered not to be carried out of the country for goods brought into it<sup>60</sup>. No one was to pay to foreigners, by way of exchange, any gold, coin, plate or bullion<sup>61</sup>. And by a subsequent law, the exportation of these was limited to the small sum of six shillings and eight pence<sup>62</sup>.

To secure the payment of the custom duties, merchants were not to carry goods from one port to another, without a certificate from the customs where the goods had been first entered<sup>63</sup>.

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<sup>59</sup> Stat. of the Realm, V. 2. p. 541.

<sup>60</sup> Ib. 517.

<sup>61</sup> Ib. 546.

<sup>62</sup> Ib. 651.

<sup>63</sup> Ib. 516.

## B O O K II.

## THE LITERARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

## C H A P. I.

*Review of the Causes of the Decline of Literature before the Norman Conquest.*

BOOK  
II.  
LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

THE general intellectual superiority of modern Europe over the ancient world, has originated from the new literature, and new sources of knowledge and improvement, which began to be cultivated after the tenth century. In England, the Norman Conquest forms that middle point where the shade begins to melt into light; every century that succeeded displayed new beams of the advancing sun; the dark ages of Europe disappeared, and all its continent became gradually and permanently enlightened.

But to appreciate justly the illumination we enjoy, and to explore satisfactorily its causes, it will be useful to consider the actual state of the literature of the Roman empire, when our Gothic ancestors overwhelmed it, and the failure of the efforts which they made to revive it. In this review, we shall see that when the Roman and Grecian mind ceased to be the ruling mind of the world, its incurable defects, and the very improvements which it had imparted, had made it necessary to the further progress of

CHAP.  
I.DECLINE  
OF LITERA-  
TURE BE-  
FORE THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

mankind, that their intellect should be led into new paths of thought, to new branches of knowledge, to new modes of expression, new feelings, new manners, and new subjects, and therefore that the exclusive sovereignty of the literature of Rome should expire, as well as its political empire. The dark ages of Europe will then appear to have been an awful but salutary period; in which the Gothic mind was prepared to emerge into literary activity under the light and governance of a new and original genius, seeking new regions, appearing in new costumes, exploring new mines of knowledge, exercising itself in new channels of thought, and displaying a sensibility, a strength, a persevering industry, and an universality, which no preceding age had witnessed. England had the distinction of contributing her full proportion to this noble result; and it will be a pleasing subject of our inquiries, to trace the steps and to expose the causes of her intellectual progress.

The middle ages, extending from the fifth century to the fifteenth, present a gloomy period to our imaginations—an interval of desolation and ignorance—so often mentioned and regretted as to have become almost proverbial in the history of our literature. But our ancestors, as well as the other Gothic tribes, were rather its victims than its cause: they came into the Roman world with minds emulous for personal distinction; they sought this by war, while warfare only would give it, and they would have courted reputation from the pen as zealously as from the sword, if the pen would have conferred it. If the love and cultivation of letters had been as vigorous and as honorable at Rome in

Decline of  
letters in  
the Roman  
empire.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

the fourth and fifth centuries, as they were in Greece, when the Romans mastered Corinth, we cannot reasonably doubt that the Gothic barbarians would have been captivated by the charms of literature, and have willingly co-operated with the conquered to have cherished and enlarged it. So Greece, uncultured, imbibed and improved the literature of Egypt; so the rude conquerors from the Tiber polished themselves from the improvements of the Grecian mind. But when the Ostro Goths, Heruli and Lombards, invaded Italy, and the Anglo-Saxons England, they found the Roman literature in a wretched and decaying state. Admirable as it once had been, the master-intellec[t]s who had adorned it, and whose genius and compositions have given to it those fascinations which still delight our taste, and defy, not our competition, but, perhaps, our superiority, had never been very numerous, and had not been replaced.

They had created all the cultivation of mind which their labours could impart. They were loved, read, remembered and praised; but no emulation of their works, their genius or their taste, accompanied the study of their immortal remains. They were still solitary stars amid a dreary and vast firmament of life, that was employing itself in unimproving and uncongenial pursuits. Roman literature had not continued its own beauty and utility; it had sunk into inefficiency, frivolity, luxury and unintellectual habits; and to its degeneracy and decrepitude must be imputed the lamented eclipse of mind and learning which involved our ancestors in that night of ignorance and vacuity for which they are reproached. But this apparent evil was their misfortune,



not their fault. They met with no teachers to inform them; no living examples to imitate; no intellectual merit around them to respect or to imbibe; and it was not unnatural that they should neglect or despise what no one near them either valued or pursued. The more we consider all the results which ensued from this neglect, the more abundant reasons we shall perceive to rejoice that it occurred. If it had not taken place, our present treasures and improvements could not have been attained.

CHAP.  
I.

DECLINE  
OF LITERA-  
TURE BE-  
FORE THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

The period of the literary excellence of the Romans had been as brief as sudden. It came upon them like a flood, from their conquest of Greece<sup>1</sup>; but it passed as rapidly away. From Ennius to Quintilian, it lasted little more than three centuries, and then declined with greater celerity than it had improved. All that is most valuable in Roman authors was produced before the middle of the second century of our æra; from that time the empire became more and more barren of intellectual harvests: literature not only degenerated in kind, but fell into a low estimation; and though its effects were felt in the general education, yet it was peculiarly cultivated by few. So steadily continuous was the decay, that if the Barbarians had not broken up the empire, letters, from the unceasing operation of the debilitating causes that were in action, would

<sup>1</sup> In Cicero's Oration for Archias, and in his dialogues de Sènectute and de Amicitia, which are so valuable for the traits they have preserved of some of the great men of Rome, we have his sentiments on the introduction of literature into Rome from Greece. Cato's learning Greek in his old age, shows the eagerness with which the Romans applied to it. But even Cicero's studies and works imply how new and how rare intellectual cultivation was to the Romans in his days, though they had then achieved the establishment of their military empire over the world.

## BOOK

## II.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

Ascribed  
by the  
Romans  
to their  
moral de-  
generacy.

have sunk into dotage and inanity: and the great classics whom we now admire and study, would have been the distant beauties of a long-past antiquity to them, as they are now to ourselves.

Some of the more intellectual of the Romans themselves perceived, lamented, and pointed out the causes of the decline, in the beginning of the second century. In the Dialogue on Oratory, ascribed by some to Tacitus, by others to Quintilian, we find their literary deterioration acknowledged, and traced to their social degeneracy: "Who is ignorant that eloquence and the other polite arts have decayed from their ancient glory, not from a dearth of men, but from the dissipation of our youth, the negligence of parents, the ignorance of teachers, and the oblivion of ancient manners? These evils, first originating in the capital, spread through Italy, and now overflow all our provinces<sup>2</sup>." The causes here alluded to are visibly resolvable into the unintellectual taste of the Roman people, which continued unchanged till the Gothic irruptions and their consequences brought a new mental and literary impulse on the European mind.

In the next century, we have the corruption of the Roman genius, and the scarcity of its valuable pro-

<sup>2</sup> Dial. de Orat. s. 28.—He details the progress of a Roman education in his day. The boy was first committed to a Greek maid-servant, then to some of the vilest of the slaves; and with their tales and errors his young mind was filled. Neither the domestics, nor even his own parents, cared what they did before him, but accustomed him to voluptuousness and licentiousness. Impudence soon followed, and a contempt both of others and of himself; and a passion for players, gladiators, and horses, thus became the prevailing vice of the city and age. Ib. s. 29. The disgusting state of Roman manners, as implied by Petronius, and satirized by Juvenal and Lucian, is an expressive commentary on such an education.

duce, exposed and regretted by Longinus. He also traces the evil to moral causes; to those which, in all ages, are the great preventers of human improvement in mind as well as in virtue. In addition to the loss of liberty, he says, "AVARICE, that disease of which the whole world is sick beyond a cure, aided by VOLUPTUOUSNESS, holds us fast in chains of thralldom; or, rather, overwhelms life itself, as well as all that live, in the depths of misery: for, love of money is the disease which renders us most abject; and love of pleasure, is that which renders us most corrupt<sup>3</sup>." Here we find the true source of human deterioration. When the love of sensual enjoyment, and the pursuit of its pecuniary means, become the absorbing inclinations of society, all the vigour and powers of the mind, and all the sensibilities of the heart, wither and disappear. The continuing observations of Longinus illustrate his complaint with all the force of his vivid and elevated style<sup>4</sup>. The historian of the following age, his own work an example of the literary decline, describes the Romans as forsaking all literary study, and cultivating, instead, singing, music, and pan-

CHAP.  
I.DECLINE  
OF LITERA-  
TURE BE-  
FORE THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

<sup>3</sup> Longinus, *περὶ ὑψηλ.* s. 44. I cite the English from Dr. Smith's spirited translation, pp. 176. 178.—Fabricius recapitulates the many writings of his that we have lost, in his *Bib. Græca*, v. 4. p. 443—448.

<sup>4</sup> "When once such corruption infects an age, it gradually spreads and becomes universal. The faculties of the soul will then grow stupid; their spirit will be lost, and good sense and genius must lie in ruins, when the care and study of man is engaged about the mortal, the worthless part of himself, and he has ceased to cultivate virtue, and polish his nobler part, the soul." Longin. *ib.* The satire of Juvenal has been called coarse; and that of Horace refined: The real difference was, that the manners of Rome in the days of Horace, were almost virtue in comparison with that animalizing depravity which degraded the time of Juvenal.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

tomime. The lower sort passed their nights at dice, or in taverns, or at theatrical indecencies; and the great mass, of all classes, wasted their time in criticising horse-races and charioteers. Their emulation lay in contending who should have the loftiest cars, or the most gorgeous apparel, deformed, from their bad taste, with large figures of animals; or in haunting the childless rich, in hope of being named the heir<sup>5</sup>. We cannot read his picture of the state of literature in the fourth century, without perceiving that the Gothic sword was not wanted to erase it from the Roman mind<sup>6</sup>. So dead to intellectual excitement had this degraded people by the sixth century become, that they defrauded the public teachers of their stipends for the education of youth, while they were lavish of the revenues on theatrical representations: and it was a Goth who was so struck with the absurdity, as to remark and to censure it, and to restore to the national instructors their just compensations<sup>7</sup>.

This deterioration is usually ascribed to the loss of the Roman liberties; but their departure was rather the consequence than the cause of the Roman vices. The freedom of Rome fell with her virtue and moral habits. What the patricians were, who

<sup>5</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, l. 14. c. 6.

<sup>6</sup> He says, "The few houses before celebrated for serious studies, now abound with the sports of a base sloth, resounding vocal echoes, and the tinkling of lutes. For a philosopher there is now a singer; and in the place of the orator, is the teacher of ludicrous arts. The libraries are shut like sepulchres for ever; hydraulic organs are the fashion instead, and lyres as large as chariots, and the instruments of the actors gesticulations. The followers of the liberal arts are expelled from the city without mercy, while the mimæ and three thousand dancers are retained in their room." Amm. Marcel. l. 14. c. 6. p. 18—24.

<sup>7</sup> See Athalaric's Letter, Cassiod. Ep. l. 9. ep. 21. p. 253.

led her armies to those victories which established her republic, we may infer from the fact, that one of her greatest conquerors in Africa, before Scipio, though a patrician of high rank, possessed but seven acres of land for the support of his family<sup>7</sup>. In this state, luxury was impossible and unvalued; and the mind was invigorated by its temperate food. But when expensive habits made riches essential, both body and spirit became enervated: and then, imperial despotism, by closing those avenues of distinction and exertion which connect personal vanity and ambition with intellectual exercise and improvement, contributed to increase the literary degradation of the empire<sup>8</sup>. Mental eminence giving no substantial benefits, but fixing on its possessor the jealous eye of a military despot, ceased to be an object of pursuit. The love of distinction, which clings so close to the human heart, sought its gratification in the safer but degrading competition of accumulating wealth and expensive luxury, or voluntarily debased and suppressed its own energies in sensuality and sloth<sup>9</sup>.

CHAP.  
I.DECLINE  
OF LITERA-  
TURE BE-  
FORE THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

<sup>7</sup> This was Atilius Regulus. He ploughed his little farm himself till he was called to head the Roman army. While fighting the Carthaginians, his bailiff died, and he wrote to the senate, praying it to appoint him a successor, that he might return and take care of his patrimony; which he described as consisting of seven acres, at Papinia, near the city; lest, from its lying vacant, he should be disabled from maintaining his wife and children. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 6. p. 389.

<sup>8</sup> It is finely said by Longinus, "Liberty produces noble sentiments in men of genius. It invigorates their hopes, excites an honourable emulation, and inspires an ambition and thirst of excelling." s. 44. p. 173.

<sup>9</sup> The history of Rome, from Marius to Domitian, proves the inseparable connection between private virtue and political liberty.



Even in Constantinople, which the Goths never subdued, literature lingered in a wretched state, from the fourth century to the fifteenth, affording some evidence of the condition to which it would have hastened in the West, if Alaric and Odoacer had never conquered the Capitol, and no Lombards had descended from the Alps.

Hence when the Goths told their queen that letters had no connexion with courage, and that boys accustomed to preceptors rods, would never learn to face the sword and the spear<sup>10</sup>; the sentiment was less the effusion of their barbarism than of their experience. The Roman civilization having become a debasing effeminacy, it is not surprising that our rude forefathers confounded the principle with its perversion, the corrupt depravation with the original excellence<sup>11</sup>. Even the eclogues of Virgil, who had the finest taste of all the ancient men of letters, are evidence of the incurable vice that was debasing the Roman mind of all classes; of the peasants among whom it is personified; and of the great men of the Capitol, to whom the descriptions and allusions are

The vices of Rome made it impossible for its freedom to continue. The more profligate a nation becomes, the more tyrannical its government must be, or the society could not exist. If the Roman gentlemen have been truly drawn by the arbiter elegantiarum, Nero and Caligula were more suitable emperors for them than Titus or the Antonines. A nation of wild beasts could be governed only by a wild beast—wickedness by wickedness.

<sup>10</sup> Procopius has transmitted to us this circumstance. Goth. Hist. l. 1. p. 144. ed. Grot.

<sup>11</sup> The contempt into which the Roman name had sunk, from the degeneracy of the people, is forcibly implied by the sentiment of Luithprand, in the tenth century. He says, "We Lombards disdained them, and we put upon our enemies no other contumely than to say, Thou Roman!"

addressed, and for whose pleasure and approbation they were written.

CHAP.  
I.

The Gothic nations, although ignorant, were not averse to the cultivation of letters. Their great Theodoric, the Ostro-Gothic sovereign of Italy, earnestly encouraged them, and tried, through his minister Cassiodorus, to animate the Italians to the love of study<sup>12</sup>. His daughter Amalasonta favored them<sup>13</sup>; the prince, Athalaric, her son, revived the public schools of literature at Rome<sup>14</sup>; and Theodat, the next Gothic sovereign, learnt Greek and Latin, and was fond of Plato<sup>15</sup>. Even the ruder Lombards, who succeeded them in the sovereignty of Italy, became at last susceptible of the influence of literature; for a grammarian is mentioned about 700,

DECLINE  
OF LITERA-  
TURE BE-  
FORE THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

Gothic  
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literature.

<sup>12</sup> The king, in many of his epistles composed by Cassiodorus, expresses his regard for literature. He tells Eugenius, that he has chosen him to the questura, "because he was laudably following the studies of literature, that the dignity of letters might become the reward of his honourable labour." Ep. 12. p. 14. He informs the senate, that he has raised a person to the honour of magistracy who was resplendent with literary tuition, that he might wear dignity in name as he possessed it in merit. Ep. 13. p. 15. For the same reason he appointed another to be the rector decuriarum. Ep. 21. p. 136.

<sup>13</sup> She was a woman of superior mind.—She restored to the children of Boethius and Symmachus their fathers possessions; and educated her son in letters, though her countrymen opposed it. Procopius Goth. Hist. l. 1. p. 143. She told the senate of Rome, that letters adorned human nature. l. 10. ep. 3. p. 261.

<sup>14</sup> His edict for this purpose states, that it was infamous that any thing should be taken from the teachers of youth, who should rather be excited to their glorious studies. He proceeds to praise grammar, music and eloquence. l. 9. ep. 21. p. 252.

<sup>15</sup> Procopius Goth. Hist. l. 1. p. 145. 154. On this part of the Gothic History, Tiraboschi, and his pleasing abbreviator, the abbate Lorenzo Zenoni, in their *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, may be advantageously consulted.

## BOOK

## II.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

whom the Lombard king so much loved, as to give him a staff adorned with gold and silver<sup>16</sup>; and when Charlemagne attacked their kingdom, he found a teacher at Pisa, from whom he derived his first knowledge of grammar<sup>17</sup>, and another man of letters, to whom we are indebted for the History of the Lombard nation<sup>18</sup>. We may add, that if the Grecian emperors had left either the Goths or Lombards, and especially the former, to possess Italy, undisturbed and undisputed, literature would soon have been raised to a dignified eminence and increasing popularity. But as it was beginning to flourish under the Gothic kings, Justinian, in 536, directed that invasion under Belisarius, on which, for seventeen years, the Goths and Greeks fought furiously for the possession of Italy, to its great misery and desolation. The Gothic empire was overthrown, and Narses continued the subjection of the country to the Grecian empire, till the Lombards, in 568, were tempted or invited to establish themselves in it. Forty years of continual warfare was waged by the Greeks against them; and this protracted effort of the ambition of the eastern empire, as well as subsequent invasions from the Franks, compelled the Lombards for a long time to make war instead of learning their

<sup>16</sup> Paul. Diac. de Gest. Langob l. 6. c. 7. Muratori intimates, that the author remarks this as if a notable, and, therefore, rare thing. Ant. Ital. p. 810. The truth is, that Paulus particularizes him, because he was the uncle of his own preceptor. Some time before this rewarded grammarian, the Lombards had an historian named Secundus. Paul. Diac. l. 4. c. 42. and l. 3. c. 30.

<sup>17</sup> Muratori.

<sup>18</sup> This was Paulus Diaconus, whose History has survived to us. From his work we derive almost all that we know of the early transactions of this people, as the more ancient narrative of Secundus has perished.

national pursuit. But these same Lombards were the persons who actually began the restoration of learning in the west of Europe, and soon outdid their Grecian contemporaries.

So far was the Gothic spirit from being uncongenial with intellectual improvement, or adverse to it, that in Spain, in France, in Italy, and elsewhere, as soon as their barbaric conquerors were settled in their acquisitions, and the pressure of external hostilities against them was relaxed, they began to cultivate literature, in every region. In our own islands their readiness to improve was conspicuous. Ireland, though at that time supposed to be the wildest region of the West, yet was so teachable and so emulous of instruction, that in the seventh and eighth centuries she was an example to all Europe for the literary attainments of her natives, and even assisted, under her Columbanus, to support them in Italy<sup>19</sup>. The Anglo-Saxons as eagerly imbibed the lessons of the two monks sent from Rome to preside over their clergy, studied Greek literature under their instructions, and furnished a Bede and an Alcuin to be the literary benefactors of Europe<sup>20</sup>! It was not

CHAP.  
I.  
DECLINE  
OF LITERA-  
TURE BE-  
FORE THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

<sup>19</sup> Bede, l. 3. c. 28. and Usher, Vet. Ep. Hiber. Sylloge. Dubl. 1632. Columbanus, in 612, obtained permission from the Lombard king to found the celebrated abbey of Bobbio, after having established some in France.

<sup>20</sup> See Muratori, Ant. Ital. p. 814. Our Alcuin was the principal instructor of Charlemagne and his age. One of his Irish assistants in the great task of instructing France and Italy, was Claudius Scotus, whose Commentary on the Galatians is printed in 1 Biblioth. Magna Patr. p. 794; and whose work on St. Matthew, is in MS. in the British Museum. Bib. Reg. 2. c. 10. and 4. c. 8. Another was Duncant, whose Commentary on Martianus Capella, addressed to his pupils at Rheims, is in MS. in the same library, Bib. Reg. 15. A. 32. And see Heric's letter, in 876, to Charles the Bald, and Joannes Erigena's Letter, in 3 Anglo-Sax.

BOOK  
II.  
LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

therefore the mental inaptitude or aversion of our forefathers to study, which kept them illiterate.

But although the Gothic nations would have eagerly studied literature, if they had found it in a flourishing or valuable state, or if they had enjoyed, like the Romans in Greece, a peaceful occupation of the countries they invaded, yet it was happy for mankind that the intellectual decline of the Roman world was such, as to discourage and prevent their cultivation of that learning, which had lost all its primeval vigor and social utility. The Grecian and Roman literature had become not only ineffective to human improvement, but was in many of its compositions so objectionable, in some of its objects so erroneous, and had been so perverted, as to be deteriorating and impeding the healthful progress of the human mind. I feel that I am treading on dangerous ground, when I speak of the defects and evil consequences of that classical literature, which we are educated to revere in our youth, and to panegyricise ever afterwards. But the character of this work is meant to be a dispassionate independence of thought; a temperate freedom of inquiry: and though I may often fail to convince, and no doubt shall occasionally err, I hope my remarks will be read with that candor with which I will endeavor to express them.

The classical literature had become incompetent to improve the world.

We have been indebted to the Greeks and Romans for so large a part of our intellectual attainments, that we rarely allow ourselves to consider their works in any other light than their utility; and indeed they have conducted so much to the mental improvement of mankind, that our gratitude can

p. 392, 4th ed. In an ancient catalogue in the monastery at Pavia, written in the tenth century, is a book in Irish, under the head of "Books given by Dungal precipuus Scotorum." Murat. Ant. Ital. 1. p. 821.



hardly exaggerate the benefaction. But human genius is usually more adapted to the age in which it appears, than to the times that succeed; its effusions create improvements around it, which diminish its own future value. New genius, with new materials and new views, and acting in new directions, is then wanted. This appears, and benefits, and becomes obsolete in its turn, from the good which it has imparted. Thus Orpheus, Homer, Pindar, Socrates, and Plato, successively arose for the advantage of mankind. In some degree the creatures of the age they adorned, they wrote for its necessities, its taste, and its approbation. Each of them left society better for his appearance, and therefore requiring other teachers to carry on its progression<sup>21</sup>. But when, from political or moral changes, the manners and spirit of the succeeding ages prove unfavorable to the evolution of fresh talent, the progress of mind becomes stationary, and soon, receiving no impulse to advance by the rise of further benefactors, the cultivation that has been produced begins then to retrograde and decline, from the operation of its own imperfections, and from the adverse circumstances with which it is surrounded.

The Grecian and Roman literature was an immense accession to the intellectual world—and allied taste and judgment, true history, and moral uses, for ever with it<sup>22</sup>. When I read the monstrous pro-

CHAP.  
I.  
DECLINE  
OF LITERA-  
TURE BE-  
FORE THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

<sup>21</sup> The general cultivation of the Grecian mind, as far as their poets could improve it, may be inferred from the intimation of Seneca, that there were slaves so familiar with the revered poetry of Greece, that one was a master of Homer; another of Hesiod; and nine, of the lyric writers; all purchased by one affluent Roman. Ep. 17. and retained in his family. Ep. 27. Such men could hardly live in any household without diffusing much of their own taste and information around them.

<sup>22</sup> One of the completest and most favorable instances of a mind

BOOK  
II.  
LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

ductions of the Hindu literature ; the inflated exaggerations of the Persian, and the absurd dreams of the Chaldean, and other Easterns, and contemplate the confusing obscurity and scanty mind of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, I feel that, with all their imperfections, we can hardly estimate, on this comparison, the Greek and Roman classics too highly. But in recollecting their improvements we must not forget our own. In acknowledging their vast merit, as we ought, with a filial gratitude, we must neither palliate nor deny their visible deficiencies, nor be blind to the justice of their now receiving a subordinate position—always to be studied—always to be remembered—frequently to be consulted—but never to be made again the *magistra vitæ*, or the exclusive acquisition. Both the Grecian and the Roman compositions have, in all their parts, successively benefited the world ; but both had some peculiar tendencies, which, though beneficial in their first appearance, yet afterwards became mischievous. These, unfortunately, obtained the ascendancy in education and popular favor, as the moral and political state of the empire declined. They increased the degeneracy which fostered them ; till literature

formed almost entirely from the Classics, is that of the celebrated Montaigne. His Essays are, usually, ingenious pieces of patchwork, selected and put together by a sound and large intellect ; from Plutarch, Cicero, Seneca, Horace and Lucretius. He quotes them as often as the pedant in *Clarissa*, and not only transplants their best thoughts avowedly into his Essays, but where their names are not explicitly referred to, his ideas may be frequently traced to their remains. His general merit shows that of his intellectual education. But he has cropped their flowers, and left their weeds untouched ; and yet, in his own deficiencies, makes us feel the vastly superior richness of the intellectual harvests, which both his countrymen and England have raised since he lived.

itself was ruined by their operation, and became pernicious to human reason, and unworthy of its pursuit. These corrupting agents were, the Grecian sophistry and the Roman rhetoric.

When Socrates diverted the Athenian mind from the study of astronomy and natural philosophy, to moral and political disputation, he seemed to be conferring a benefit upon his species; and if his authority and example had only given to ethics and polity a fair proportion of philosophical discussion, the boon which he imparted would have been great. But Socrates loved victory as well as truth; he sought often to confute rather than to instruct; a subtle distinction was as valuable in his eyes as a sound judgment: he preferred debate to observation, logic to knowledge<sup>23</sup>. Hence, without perhaps fully intending it, he excited in the Athenian, and, through that, in the Grecian mind, a love and practice of sophistical ingenuity, which, abandoning the patient study of nature, and the calm decisions of steady judgment, sought only to shine in argument

CHAP.  
I.

DECLINE  
OF LITERA-  
TURE BE-  
FORE THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

Sophistical  
philosophy  
of Greece.

<sup>23</sup> Socrates has been delineated by three contemporaries:—Aristophanes, Plato, and Xenophon, and by all dramatically. Each has pursued his own taste in exhibiting the conversation of the philosopher. The satirizing comedian has drawn him a mere sophist; his dialectic disciple, Plato, has exhibited him arguing and refining in a way that approaches much nearer to sophistry than the simpler Xenophon has chosen to portray. I doubt if we have the real Socrates from either, unless we take his features from all. Indeed, when we consider that Cicero deduces the Academical Sect, always debating and never deciding, from Socrates—*profecta à Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, confirmata à Carneade* (De Nat. Deor. l. 1. p. 14.) I cannot but feel, that if Aristophanes caricatured, yet that he saw justly the tendency of the mental habit which Socrates was practising. Lucian also treats Socrates with disrespect; and Maxim Tyrius, in four discourses, strives hard to justify him.

and controversy. His acute method of confuting his adversary, was refined upon with increased effect by Plato<sup>24</sup>; and Aristotle, transcending both in logical acuteness, invented systems and forms of intellectual debate, which have given weapons to the subtilizing talents of every sect. His works were long buried, but his spirit was in the world, and filled Greece with wranglers, with contending systems, and everlasting controversy. An electrical activity became the character of the Grecian mind; but it was restlessness, without produce. Agitated by eternal debate, never ending but in scepticism that mocked all moral principle, or in a keener resolution to resume the weapon and refight the battle; the Grecian lost the tact for the appreciation of either moral or physical truth, and both the ability and the wish to acquire it<sup>25</sup>. The floating knowledge of his day, that preceding ages had acquired, he imbibed as it passed, for its showy or offensive utility; but he added nothing to its amount; and judgment was

<sup>22</sup> It is impossible to reconcile the *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* of Xenophon, which consists of the conversations of Socrates, with the works of Plato, which are all dialogues of the same revered sage, without supposing either that Plato has remembered and imitated his master's most artful manner of disputing, or has refined upon it to exhibit his own genius. When I see in Xenophon, Socrates condescending to teach a courtesan how to practise her trade, I cannot but think that he loved a reputation for ingenuity full as much as moral utility.

<sup>25</sup> The three hundred opinions on happiness which the Grecian schools maintained, are a sufficient elucidation of their love of useless and endless disputation. Perhaps the best account, in the fewest words, of the absurd and contradictory opinions of the Greek philosophers, even the greatest, on the awful subject of the Deity; and of their gross self-inconsistencies, even of Aristotle; is in the sketch drawn by Velleius, in Cicero's *de Nat. Deorum*. These opinions he truly calls, *Non philosophorum judicia sed delirantium somnia*. l. 1. p. 32. Glasg. ed.



dispersed in disputatious pertinacity. Personal distinction by argument becoming the actuating principle of all, and the defeat of a competitor the favourite object, the mental evil was prolific of moral disorder; and falsehood, faithlessness, and profligacy, became the characteristics of a Grecian<sup>26</sup>.

CHAP.  
I.

DECLINE  
OF LITERA-  
TURE BE-  
FORE THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

Rhetorical  
literature  
of Rome.

When Rome aspired to prevail in the empire of letters, she certainly introduced into them a masculine decision and steadiness of thought, and a solidity of judgment, which promised to correct the volatility and perversions of the Grecian mind. In Cicero and Seneca, in Tacitus and Quintilian, a good sense, a moral wisdom, a sound thoughtfulness appear, which are rarely to be found so continuous, and so little mixed with verbosity and absurdity, in any Grecian writers. But unfortunately, from the nature of the civil institutions of Rome, oratory became the fashionable object of all Roman education. It was indeed, at first, oratory formed on the largest acquisition of knowledge, that books, instructors, or personal labour, could supply<sup>27</sup>; it was oratory actuated by the noblest impulses that a free state could create, or a cultivated mind obey<sup>28</sup>. But when her republic

<sup>26</sup> Lucian felt the diversity of the Grecian philosophic sects, and their disputes and contradictory lives, to be so absurd, that he is perpetually satirizing them. Maximus Tyrius, who lived about the time of the Antonines, says emphatically—"If you place philosophy in words and names and artifices of phrase; in argument, contention, and sophisms; it is not difficult to find a master. All things with us are full of sophists. This is a flourishing profession, and manifest to every one." Dissert. 37. ed. Heins. p. 218.

<sup>27</sup> Cicero, in his *Treatise de Oratore*, is emphatic on this point. Quintilian urges the acquisition of logic, ethics, and natural philosophy, law and history, music and geometry, l. 12. and l. 1.

<sup>28</sup> Quintilian begins his twelfth book with proving, that virtue is indispensable to the orator. He calls it the quality by which we approach nearest to the nature of Deity itself. l. 12. c. 2.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

fell, and her morals vanished, the orator dwindled to the mere rhetorician ; the verbal diction became the subject of general pursuit, not the full-fed mind ; the trick and the deceit, not conviction and honourable persuasion. The effects were most pernicious. Rhetoric, like sophistry, separated from real principle, is a selfish combatant, who aims at personal display, and prefers victory to justice ; it deludes both its author and his audience ; it enervates the judgment which uses it, and spoils the mind accustomed to hear it : aiming to overpower the reason, by exciting the sympathy, it abandons knowledge for phrase, sense for sound, and truth for gesture, declamation, and delusion. In Rome, it delighted in the most lacerating invective<sup>29</sup>. But when the Grecian sophistry, and

<sup>29</sup> Luther, Salmasius, Milton, Scheoppius, and the literati of the sixteenth century, have been strongly and justly censured for the virulence and asperity they expressed towards their opponents. But their teachers were the classical orators. This defamatory eloquence may claim an ancestry as high and as respectable as Cicero himself, the most polite of the Roman orators and writers ! His philippics against Verres, and Antony, and Cataline, almost exhaust the stores of vituperative abuse. But it was so common a weapon of Roman oratory, that even in his oration against Piso, we have these phrases addressed to him—‘ Thou beast ! thou fury ! thou hangman ! thou lump of mud ! thy sœtid mouth ! thou stupid madman ! thou gibbet thief ! this cattle ! this putrid flesh ! that rotten corpse ! iniquity in the very folds of his forehead ! thou foulest and most inhuman monster ! that abject and but half alive man ! I will argue with him as with a thief, a sacrilegious robber and a cut-throat. Thou epicurean from the sty, not from the school ! This vulture of his province ! the gorging glutton, born for his belly. Ye twin whirlpools and rocks of the republic ! You bear the everlasting marks of the most filthy turpitude—thou wickedness itself ! thou pestilence ! thou contamination ! thou mannikin of clay and mud ! thou darkness ! thou dirt ! thou pollution !’ &c. These are only the personal apostrophes and epithets. The detailed and elaborate abuse, all spoken to the person’s face, occupies

CHAP.  
I.DECLINE  
OF LITERA-  
TURE BE-  
FORE THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

its unprincipled spirit, became combined with the Roman modes and style of oratory, the perversion of the human mind reached its height. Controversy became the delight of the studious; Pyrrhonism corrupted the philosopher; and cavil and declamation characterized their literature<sup>30</sup>. So inveterate was the intellectual mischief, that even the genius of Christianity, which condemned it, sank into its trammels; and a dogmatical, passionate, rhetorical, and polemical theology appeared in Greece, which ruined its judgment and feeling, repeatedly stained its streets with human blood<sup>31</sup>, and has infected

forty-one copious sections of oratorical declamation, contrasted only with the most lavish egotism on himself. And such was Roman taste, that a public audience could hear all this, as well as a public speaker express it, and that speaker the polished Cicero, the writer of his gentlemanly 'Offices,' or moral duties. Can we wonder that such orations of such men have seduced others to an imitation; or that they should injure the moral taste of our public addresses, whether from the bar, the pulpit or the hustings, or in the senate. Human genius has yet to give a specimen of impressive oratory, disdaining to vituperate.

<sup>30</sup> Indeed how could it be otherwise, in an age when the followers of Epicurus were inculcating atheism and materialism, and discouraging the study of the sciences?—when those of Aristippus were urging sensual pleasures to be the summum bonum—when those of Pyrrho doubted the existence of every thing—and the Academics disputed equally on both sides of every question, this day arguing in favour of justice, and the next day against it, as Carneades did even before Cato—when the Peripatetics used in their syllogistic organum, the means of eternal debate—when the Stoics contended against all—and the Eclectics increased the Babel confusion of philosophy, by struggling to unite all—And especially, when we find from Quintilian, that these disputants seemed bound to their different sects by a sort of religious obligation, and thought themselves guilty of something criminal if they deserted the persuasion which they had once embraced? Inst. l. 12. c. 2.

<sup>31</sup> On the religious and civil factions of Constantinople, and the

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

religious discussions ever since. We cannot read the works of the Greek fathers, and of their contemporary Pagan Philosophers, and many Latin controversialists, without perceiving that we are not conversing with men of sound judgment, expansive knowledge, moral feeling, or elevated intellect—but for the most part with the rhetor and the sophist; with verbose and declamatory egotists; with men fertile to envy, in the concatenation of words, and in the tactics of phrase; with intellectual gladiators and theatrical exhibitors, to whom debate was the most felicitating employment, and popular applause a necessary sustenance<sup>32</sup>.

Grecian hierarchy, see Gibbon's History, in many places. Under the reign of Anastasius, the Grecians, who had treacherously concealed stones and daggers under baskets of fruit, massacred at a solemn festival, 3,000 of their Blue adversaries. The Blues retaliated bitterly. In the Nika sedition, in the reign of Justinian, in which both factions engaged, the Blues signalized the fury of their repentance; and it is computed that above 30,000 persons were slain in the merciless and promiscuous carnage of the day. Gibbon Hist. c. 40. v. 4. pp. 61. 69. Mr. Gibbon loves to describe the controversies and conflicts of the Grecian clergy. His satirical portrait is, in one respect, an accession to the cause of human welfare; for though it is but what all parties and ages have practised, yet literary censure, and the feeling that corresponds with it, may in time make such conduct too odious to be reacted.

<sup>32</sup> The logical and metaphysical works of Ammonius, Plotinus, Proclus, Jamblichus, Porphyry, and others of the philosophers, have given me the impression mentioned in the text. The controversial works of the Greek fathers display the same mind and manner on different subjects, with additional acrimony. In Mr. Boyd's Selections from some of the most celebrated orations of the Greek fathers, we see their rhetoric in profusion. The feeling of egotism, never concealed, pervades all their discourses. It must have been the national characteristic, or it would not have been so much expressed, and could not have been so patiently endured.

CHAP.  
I.DECLINE  
OF LITERA-  
TURE BE-  
FORE THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.Effects of  
these evils

The rhetorical spirit gave a character of declamation to all the literature of Greece and Rome, after the second century, and shaped and governed their studious education<sup>33</sup>. On this principle their minds were taught to think and write; and it is amusing to see Cassiodorus, one of the last of the literary Romans, the chief minister of Theodoric, striving to pen his sovereign's official orders with the elaborate amplifications of the orator<sup>34</sup>.

In St. Gregory's funeral oration on his brother, we have a specimen how anxious the preacher was, even on this melancholy occasion, to protrude himself to the notice of the audience. See Mr. Boyd's translation, pp. 122, 123, 127, 136; 139—143.

<sup>33</sup> Rhetorical sophistry has been so engrafted in the Grecian literature and genius, that it is even now reviving with the reviving literature of modern Greece. Constantinos Oikonomos, the present professor of philology at Smyrna, has found it necessary, in the preliminary discourses to his *Τεχνης Πητορικῆς*, lately printed at Vienna, to caution his pupils against it: "Exercise your intellectual faculties with all the dignity that becomes a man, but avoid those disputations and wranglings in which *the Sophists of our day* so greatly delight. The present state of literature in Greece is not so absolutely wretched, as that our youths should abandon themselves entirely to the study of the problems and sophisms of dialectics." Panor. No. 99. p. 1062.

<sup>34</sup> The object of the order was, that Symmachus should cause a son, who had attempted parricide, to be brought before him for judgment.—It is introduced with two pages of rhetorical commonplace on filial ingratitude, with such imagerical arguments as these: "The whelps of wild beasts follow their parents; the shoots of trees do not quarrel with their stem; the branch of the vine obeys its own stock; and shall man differ with his own source?—The care of the ancestor does not shun the seas themselves, excited by cruel tempests, that he may gain by foreign merchandise what he may leave his children. The birds themselves, seeking food, stain not their nature with ingratitude—The stork, the herald of the returning year, throwing off the sadness of winter, introducing the hilarity of the vernal season, delivers to



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

The Roman education being thus essentially rhetorical, precluded a taste for science, true judgment, or simplicity. The tropes and figures of rhetoric became an elaborate study. We have treatises on these, with names, distinctions and niceties, which a Kant might envy<sup>35</sup>. These verbal discriminations, so useless, because they have never made an orator, but so mischievous, because, whenever seriously studied, they tempt students to be as absurd as their teachers, were begun by the Greeks, the great masters of wordy ingenuity<sup>36</sup>. The Romans emulously

us a great example of piety; for when their parents droop the wings from old age, nor can be found fit to seek their own food, they, cherishing the cold limbs of their parents with their wings, refresh their wearied frames with nourishment, and till the aged bird can be restored to its primeval vigour, their young progeny, with pious vicissitude, return what, when little, they received from their parents." He then goes on to the partridges, and after another long simile from them, at last gives the royal order. Cass. Ep. l. 1. ep. 14. p. 44.—Another specimen of the rhetorical statesman follows in the fortieth letter. The king writes to Boethius, that the king of the Franks wished a harper. His minister takes occasion, from this circumstance, to pour out six pages of rhetoric on the use and history of music; and this to Boethius, who had written on the subject. Almost all the state letters are in this style.

<sup>35</sup> Being good Greek, it would be profane to call them barbarous; otherwise the names given by Rutilius Lupus, to his figures of Elocution, might have tempted the application of this epithet—Prosapodosis, Synathroesmus, Paradiastole, Anaclasis, Epiphora, Coenotes, Polyptoton, Epanalepsis, Epiploce, Polysyndeton, Anacæon, Brachyepia, Syscevasis, &c. &c.

<sup>36</sup> The Greeks were not satisfied until they traced out these oratorical beauties in Homer; and the largest part of Dion. Halicarnasseus' Life of him is devoted to this fanciful subject. The treatise of Lupus, *De Figuris Sententiarum*, was drawn up from the Greek of his contemporary Gorgias, as that of Aquila was from the Greek Numenius. The works of many of the Grecian rhetors still exist, and have been published by Aldus.



CHAP.  
I.DECLINE  
OF LITERA-  
TURE BE-  
FORE THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

cultivated the specious but ineffectual art ; and verbal rhetoric became a subject of favourite composition<sup>37</sup>—not the intellectual eloquence of Cicero and Demosthenes, but the minute rhetoric of the narrow-minded critics of words, epithets, particles, cases and sentences<sup>38</sup>. Though treatises swarmed on this unworthy subject, yet such a favourite was the study, that it was never thought exhausted ; and it is perhaps one proof of its general cultivation, that so many works upon it have survived, while nobler authors have perished. Boethius condescended to

<sup>37</sup> Besides the rhetor Lupus, we have Aquila Romanus de Figuris, and Julius Rufinianus on the same topic :—and the longer treatise of Curius Fortunatianus, entitled, *Artis Rhetoricæ Scholicæ*. The *Expositio* on Cicero's *Rhetoricon*, by Marius Victorinus a rhetor of Rome, is also a copious work. The *Institutiones Oratoriæ* of Sulpitius Victor, are the instructions he composed for his son-in-law. Emporius the rhetor entitles his work *de Ethopoeia ac loco Communi*. We have also the *Principia Rhetorices* of Aurelius Augustinus—and the *Syntomata Rhetoricæ* of Julius Severianus. To these we may add, Rufinus's hexameter verses *de Compositione et Metris Oratorum*, and Priscian's *de Præexercitamentis Rhetoricæ*, taken from Hermogenes, and Martianus Capella *de Rhetorica Liber*.

<sup>38</sup> To give an instance. Aquila says, p. 28, The following sentence contains three figures : the isocolon, the homœoptoton, and the diezeugmenon. “ The Athenians fortified with colonies that part of Asia which is called Ionia : the Dorians occupied that region of Italy which is named Magna Græcia.” The disjunction of two connected sentences, is the ornament they call diezeugmenon. The similarity of cases which appears in the Latin of the above, is the homœoptoton ; and the combination of the two sentences, the two equal colons, they call the isocolon.—Yet of such trifling, Aquila says, “ These things are the peculiar office of the orator. By this science he raises the little ; he expands the contracted ; he rapidly gives ornament, force and weight, to his words and sentences. Nothing can equal this in affecting the minds of the hearers and judges.” p. 15.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

add the efforts of his mind, fit for better things, to this popular subject; and, rather stimulated than discouraged by the numbers that had preceded, Cassiodorus also furnished the sixth century with his *Rhetoricæ Compendium*<sup>39</sup>. The continuation of such compositions shows how inveterately the love of rhetoric was rooted in the Roman mind.

From this direction of the Roman literature and tuition, rhetoric became a principal object of application among those Gothic nations who made the Roman literature their study and their model. We find Isidore writing on this subject in Spain<sup>40</sup>. Even our simple-minded Bede employed himself in searching the Sacred Writings for these verbal ornaments, from his anxiety to show that they were not deficient in this popular requisite<sup>41</sup>; and Alcuin thought

The  
Gothic  
nations  
imbibe the  
rhetorical  
spirit.

<sup>39</sup> See his Work, vol. 2. p. 454. Yet for a peculiar beauty too much neglected by some of our best writers, I would strongly recommend the study of the *Georgics* and *Æneid* of Virgil, and all the Works of Cicero; I mean that sweet and melodious selection and combination of words, and rhythmical structure of sentence, which combine clearness and exactness of meaning with fewness and simplicity of terms to express it, and yet, which display an energy of spirit, a pictorial beauty, a terse elegance, an easy strength, and a musical harmony of effect; in which no man has exceeded Virgil in poetry, or Cicero, with all his rhetorical amplifications, in his polished prose.

<sup>40</sup> In his *De Arte Rhetorica Liber*, with the feeling of a Christian writer, he also makes the recommendation of Quintilian an essential part of his definition: "*Orator est vir bonus dicendi peritus.*"

<sup>41</sup> See his book *De Tropis Sacræ Scripturæ*. He says, The Grecians *boasted* that they were the repertoires of such figures and tropes; but that the world might know that the Bible *ipsa preeminet positione dicendi*, he wrote his book. His instance, from some Latin writer, of the *Paroimion*, is one of the completest, and most fantastic, specimens of alliteration that I have seen:

it necessary to instruct his imperial friend and patron in this popular art, and has left a dialogue upon it between himself and Charlemagne<sup>42</sup>.

Rhetoric, thus adopted into the education of the barbaric mind, soon materially characterized their literature. In Spain, in the seventh century, we have the work of St. Ildephonso on the Immaculate Virginity, which displays the oratorical style, tinged with polemical arrogance in its full exertion—in all its pompous inanity, and mischievous verbosity, violent, passionate, dictatorial and unmeaning<sup>43</sup>. Eulogius, in his *Memorialis Sanctorum*, appears to have been formed from the same school. And even a letter written from that country attempts the ab-

CHAP.

I.

DECLINE  
OF LITERA-  
TURE BE-  
FORE THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

“O Tite tute Tati tibi tanta tyranne tulisti.”

This equals Aldhelm's prose (*Ang. Sax. vol. 3. p. 377. 4to. ed.*) and outdoes even the Welsh bards, who delighted in this caricaturing ornament.

<sup>42</sup> In this he tells the Emperor, that rhetoric drew mankind, from wandering like wild beasts in the woods, to houses, society, and religion. He pays him a compliment in the true style of his art: “The spark of my small genius can add nothing to the flame-breathing light of thy wisdom.”

<sup>43</sup> “What say you, O Jew! what do you propose? what do you meditate? what do you oppose? what do you object? Behold our virgin—She is thine by stem, thine by race, thine by root, thine by country, thine by people, thine by nation, thine by origin. But from our faith she is ours—ours from belief, ours from assent, ours from reverence, ours from honour, ours from praise, ours from glorification, ours from choice, ours from love, ours from preaching, &c. p. 95. This is harmless nothingness. Other parts of his empty declamation are mischievous: “Hear me, thou Eluidius! attend to me, thou impudent one; hear me, thou immodest one; look at me, dishonest man. Behold me, thou shameless! What, are you disturbing with your indecency! What, unblushing, are you urging? What, deceiver, are you attempting? What art thou attacking without reverence? What, without bashfulness, art thou afflicting?” *Bib. Mag. Pat. t. 9. p. 94.*

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

surdity of rhetorical diction, and proves how carefully the Roman rhetoricians were studied<sup>44</sup>. Among our Anglo-Saxons, Aldhelm, so admired as to be praised by Malmsbury above four centuries after his death, has left us an elaborate work written in this spirit, which is remarkable only for being one tissue of extravagant metaphor, of inflated, exaggerated and unprofitable declamation<sup>45</sup>. The same style, notwithstanding our Alfred's correcting example, repeatedly emerged in Edgar's legal charters, probably penned by St. Dunstan. It abounds in the works of the Anglo-Norman monks, who had formed themselves on Roman literature, even in the twelfth century, when better things had begun to appear<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> It is from Alvar to Eulogius:—In this he says, “The fiery-haired traveller of the centre, dwells, as soon as he rises, in the eyes of Heaven.”—The whole letter is not only rhetorical, but aims to be so—for it talks of the redundant oratory of the Tullian fountain, of the fervent genius of Demosthenes, the rich eloquence of Cicero, and the florid Quintilian; and commends his friend for adding to the divine food the *florem rhetoricum*. Bib. Mag. Pat. t. 9. p. 338.

<sup>45</sup> This work is entitled *S<sup>i</sup> Aldhelmi Liber de laudibus Virginitatis*. Every page of it is in the rhetorical style, and is meant to be so as its merit and character, “*de intactæ virginitatis gloria rhetoricamur*.” p. 367. He says, “Having placed the rhetorical foundations, and built up the walls of prose, I will lay on a most firm roof with trochaic tiles and dactylic bricks of metres.” p. 368. Every sentence contains a trope and a metaphor. It is made up of sixty chapters of rhetorical figures, the whole meaning of which may be expressed in three words, “*Virginitas* is praiseworthy.”

<sup>46</sup> Thus in the writers of Becket's Life we have as the praise of a prelate—that he was the morning star of the heavenly firmament, a most glowing carbuncle, the resplendent bow among the clouds, the lily in the flowing waters, the rose in spring, frankincense flaming in the fire, a solid vessel of gold, a lily of purity, a rose of modesty, the viol of celestial conversation, the music of jocund society, the pillar of justice, the infrangible adamant of constancy. *Quadril. l. 1. c. 21.* in the old edition; c. 16. in the later.



In other nations, the same taste, the same absurdity, appears <sup>47</sup>. It suited indeed many of the subjects on which it was lavished—the exaggerated lives of saints politically canonized by papal mandate—and the fallacious recommendations of useless relics. The rhetorical style still marks the ecclesiastical literature of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, which is chiefly formed upon the Latin classics and fathers. It is always rhetorical, and it is little else.

CHAP.  
I.

DECLINE  
OF LITERA-  
TURE BE-  
FORE THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

The instances alluded to, are adduced as striking specimens of the ill effects that have arisen from the exclusive study of the Roman literature, and from giving education an oratorical direction. But the evil did not rest on particular examples of extravagance. The world might have smiled at such things, and forgotten them: the Greeks might have made half a dozen distinctions of irony, and given their discovery importance by hard names<sup>48</sup>, and have amused themselves with a hundred follies of that sort, if no other consequence had followed. But they inoculated the whole literary world with the delusion, as a merit; and fixed on the human mind

Its inju-  
rious  
effects on  
the human  
mind.

<sup>47</sup> This rhetorical declamation became the character of all the ecclesiastical writings (not scholastic) of the middle ages; not indeed with equal spirit or ingenuity; there is the dull rhetoric as well as the animated. But the rhetorical tone of mind, not reasoning, not comparing, not inquiring, not judging, but merely putting together phrases and common-places; amplifying and declaiming; labouring at style without knowledge, combining words without distinct ideas, repeating the quindecies repetita, and aiming to be oratorical; must strike all who will take the trouble to read the Latin works that preceded the fourteenth century, and many since.

<sup>48</sup> Rufinianus gravely details these from Numenius: the chleusmus, or epicertomesis; the charientismus, or scomma; the asteismus; the diasyrmus; the exuthenismus; and the sarcasmus.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

a rhetorical fashion and tendency, which ensured its depravation, and precluded its improvement. Men were laboriously educated to think in these trammels, or rather, to lose all thought and reasoning in recollecting and pursuing these unmeaning niceties of phrase. Nor was any discrimination made as to the merit of such things: the notable paroimion above quoted from Bede, and all the schemata, tropes and figures, which the Greeks vaunted to be their discoveries, were carefully noted, repeated and recommended with the same general sentences of introductory panegyric, as if all were equally beautiful—all the intentional produce of genius—all the sanctioned ornaments of good taste. The consequence could be no other than it was. The literary strove to excel in rhetoric, not in knowledge; the rhetors multiplied like dancing masters; science declined; good taste departed. Literature was no longer esteemed for itself; it was cultivated but as vanity or interest required; grosser amusements pleased better; and knowledge was fast expiring in the Roman world when the Goths invaded.

When the love of letters began to rise in the dark ages, this rhetorical literature spread with it; it was no longer confined to judicial causes; it was deemed a necessary accomplishment to all. Oratory supplies us with the grace of words, says Theodoric<sup>49</sup>. It is the science of speaking well, exclaims Alcuin; who makes his emperor reply, "Then explain to us the rules of the rhetorical discipline, for necessity compels us to be exercised in them every day:"—and, having heard his preceptor's lessons, he is taught to

<sup>49</sup> Cassiod. Ep. p. 83<sup>b</sup>.

CHAP.  
I.DECLINE  
OF LITERA-  
TURE BE-  
FORE THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

add, "Who shall dare to say that we have discoursed in vain, if he be an inquirer into the liberal arts, or a follower of the excellent virtues<sup>50</sup>?" So that rhetoric was at last supposed to be the key of knowledge, and the handmaid of morality. Instead of keeping it in a subjected state to promote better purposes, instead of making thought, truth, knowledge, wisdom, feeling and taste, the essentials of the mind and its compositions, and the oratorical ornament but the connected and skilfully adapted grace, the student was trained to think rhetorically and write rhetorically, and to speak, and, where he could, to harangue rhetorically, whatever might be the fact, the subject, or the utility. Personal display and the gaining of an immediate object, or the indulgence of a prominent feeling at any expense of justice or truth, were usually the results and aims of such a state of mind. It cannot discover, and rarely values truth, and too often perplexes and destroys it.

Hence the defects of a rhetorical education are obvious. The mind so instructed and contorted may give new turns to its common-places, may disturb language into new phrases, and declaim with well-sounding volubility on the familiar topics of the academy; but if it act in this direction for ages, it will not add one fact of useful knowledge, nor evolve one natural feeling, nor attain any new improvement. Rhetoric is essentially conversant with words, not with things, and seduces the whole soul into the same path. Like the syllogism of Aristotle, it may enforce what is known; it will discover nothing that is unknown. It will be still but the new

<sup>50</sup> Alcuin de Rh. Lib. 390 & 409. apud Ant. Rhet. Capponerii.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

rheter following the old rhetor in the same trodden circle, disturbing afresh the same dust, and moving round in the same trammels, but never emancipating itself from its bondage, never discovering a new path of intellect, nor able to achieve one original flight. Our Aldhelm is a complete specimen how much rhetorical amplifications can spoil a valuable mind.

The spirit of rhetorical criticism has now happily ceased. We do not now inquire what tropes and figures a poem contains; we do not now hunt, like the Grecian rhetors, for such things as the metalepsis or the antonomasia; for the diasymus, the charientismus or the litotes. Though some authors have tried to make rhetoric easy<sup>51</sup> among us; and metrical distributions of figures have been published, containing “a noble fund of tropo-schematological knowledge<sup>52</sup>,” for the torment of unfortunate school-boys; yet this spirit and these discriminations have never obtained a standard place in English literary criticism, and have never been aimed at by English authors. Declamation, even in public oratory, now excites mistrust and prevents conviction; it sounds to

<sup>51</sup> Mr. John Holmes took this trouble, in 1754, in his *Art of Rhetoric made Easy*; wherein he tells us, that he had “sold 6,000 of his Latin Grammars; near 4,000 of his Greek Grammars with this ‘Treatise; and the rest in due proportion.’” Pref.

<sup>52</sup> So says Holmes of Mr. D. Burton’s *Figuræ Metricæ*, composed for Durham school, containing 142 Latin hexameters, each with such Gorgon names to poor school-boys as these—*VERBA EPANORTHOSIS revocans addensque reformat; APOSIOPESIS reticet, remque innuit omnem; Rem negat APOPHASIS, quam transgreditur PARALEIPSIS*. The rhetorical enthusiast liberally promised to each of his scholars “sixpence, whoever he is, that will learn ’em [these 142 lines] by heart, and repeat ’em to him with understanding.” p. 32. Our school-boys of former days must have been made indefatigable blockheads.

us immediately like the voice of imposition, and we prefer a Cæsar's clear and unassuming simplicity of uncoloured fact, to all the gorgeous drapery and rancorous effusions of an accusing Cicero, and, may I add, of an impeaching Burke.

The Grecian literature had become as unprofitable. Its philosophers had argued themselves into almost as many theories as there were disputants. Their theologians were prolific of heresies, contentions, and superstitions. Their emperors were polemical partisans; sectarian chieftains; not the impartial sovereigns of an enlightened nation. The discussions being always upon words, or the selfish conflicts of factious violence and acrimonious bigotry, never benefited the intellect. But the Greeks seem to have deceived themselves, by the perfections into which they had wrought their sweet and copious tongue. They mistook novelty of phrase for novelty of idea; they believed that they had started an acute refinement of thought, when they had only made a new distinction and arrangement of a beautiful diction. If we were not captivated by the charms of the language, and of their ancient fame, rather than by the utility of the matter, the reveries of Jacob Behmen would appear as important and as intelligible as many of the metaphysical reasonings of Plotinus, Ammonius, and Proclus. What mind, enlightened by modern science, can value them for any real discrimination of thought, or for the discovery or exposition of any additional knowledge!

The Grecian fathers emulated the sophistry and rhetoric of their philosophical opponents, and a wordy luxuriance of useless subtleties and theatrical decla-

CHAP.  
I.

DECLINE  
OF LITERA-  
TURE BE-  
FORE THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

Grecian  
literature  
equally  
declines.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

mation was their ambition and their disgrace<sup>53</sup>. They became admirable combatants ; they fought with all the ardour and tactics of fierce and disciplined warriors. But their triumphs were the destruction of their religion ; and it became necessary to discipline Christianity, by the introduction of Mahomedanism, in order to preserve it.

Pursuing these considerations to their consequences, we cannot wonder that the Grecian literature had declined into insignificance in the ninth and tenth centuries<sup>54</sup>. It is certainly a remarkable fact, that both the Grecian and the Roman literature were unable to sustain themselves. They not only became incompetent to improve the world—they could not even continue their own existence. They neither corrected their evil tendencies, nor those of

<sup>53</sup> Rhetoric should not be taught as an art, or the mind will be injured by the tuition. The treatises upon it, from Aristotle to Cassiodorus, should be forgotten. Knowledge is the first requisite ; a frequent perusal of those who have been truly and honourably eloquent, the second ; the formation of a correct judgment is the third ; to these should be added varied and appropriate feeling, a mellifluous and yet powerful diction—a flexible and impressive elocution. The habit of public speaking, to make all these attainments available on the immediate spur of every occasion, will then give a facility and force which no precepts can impart. Pericles and Demosthenes astonished Greece before the rhetors rose. No great man has ever been formed by these rules.

<sup>54</sup> In the ninth century, Bardas *began* to open schools of good letters in Constantinople. Curopalates says of him, that he had “a knowledge of foreign wisdom, which had long declined, and had almost wholly perished. There was then so great a penury of learned men in Greece, that it was necessary to search them out with great diligence, living concealed here and there in corners, and in want. There was no vestige of schools in Athens at that time.” Baronius Annal. 1. p. 180. Yet no barbarians had then occupied the Byzantine capital.



society, nor preserved their real merit. They became neglected and discredited in their own countries, where they had once so vigorously flourished ; and when the barbarous nations attempted to transplant them into the Gothic soil, they produced but a feeble vegetation, which soon hastened into decay <sup>55</sup>.

It is manifest that by the time the Gothic tribes overthrew the Roman empire, that sensitive rectitude of intellect or refinement of judgment, which we call

<sup>55</sup> Great lamentation has been made at the loss of so many of the Greek poets, and great indignation excited by the account which P. Alcyonio, in his *Lib. de Exdeo*, has transmitted to us, that the eastern emperors, under the influence of the Grecian clergy, caused many of their ancient Greek poems to be burnt. Among these he particularizes those of Menander, Diphilus, Apollodorus, Philemon, Alexis, Sappho, Grinna, Anacreon, Minnermus, Bion, Alcman, and Alcæus. But the same author expresses the reason to have been on account of their indecencies. We need not therefore refer their perishing to any imperial destruction ; because in every country, as its moral taste and judgment improves, all writers of this sort sink naturally into that disuse and oblivion, which our indecent poets and novelists of Charles II. have experienced, and which the similar ones of our own time must submit to. The preservation of such works, especially in a dead language, could have produced no good to mankind. Hence, though Aristophanes was so celebrated for his attic style, yet as its peculiar graces can be but faintly perceived by modern students, his works, if familiarly used, would do far more injury by their frequent licentiousness than they would benefit by their diction. The world is always outgrowing such sort of compositions, and from its own improvement, as well as for its own happiness, neglects them. It is probable that the most useful and least exceptionable of the ancient classics have survived to us. These benefit mankind as far as their utility extends ; but it is obvious that if the mind of the world was to be now confined to them, it would fall from its present varied affluence to a state of great comparative poverty.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

good taste, had abandoned the Roman mind. This invaluable attainment of the cultivated spirit seems to depend neither on rank nor on government; for the low born Horace and Virgil, under the military despotism of Augustus, possessed it in a degree superior to any of the ancients—not, perhaps, even excepting Cicero and Livy. Its deficiency in every subsequent generation appeared not only in literary composition, but also in the fine arts; the glaring superseded the tasteful; colour took the lead of beauty, the monstrous had displaced the natural, and the perfect art of ancient painting seemed to have expired<sup>56</sup>; showy purple wandered about the walls, and the drugs of India lavishly stained them, but no noble picture<sup>57</sup> delighted the eye of feeling and the cultivated reason. Moral, not political causes, must have produced this deterioration; and the ancients seem to hint at this idea; for Pliny reminds us that the great Protogenes was contented with a cottage in his garden, and that a pictorial artist was then the common property of the world<sup>58</sup>. While Petronius desires us not to be surprised that painting had declined, because in his days a heap of gold was thought to be far more beautiful than any thing which Apelles, Phidias, or any such insignificant madmen<sup>59</sup> had created.

<sup>56</sup> See Vitruvius, l. 7. c. 5. This bad taste was beginning in the days of Tully, for he remarks how much ‘floridiora’ the new pictures were than the old ones; how much less durably they pleased, and how horrid such an effect would have been deemed in those of the ancient masters. De Nat. l. 3. c. 25.

<sup>57</sup> Pliny Nat. Hist. l. 35. c. 7. ‘Nunc et purpuris in parietes migrantibus.’—‘Nulla nobiles pictura est.’ Ib.

<sup>58</sup> Nat. Hist. l. 35. c. 10.

<sup>59</sup> Petr. Satyr. c. 87. How much the love, the pursuit, and

Neither art nor literature lost any thing by the Roman mind being changed for the Gothic; the same interval of time was necessary for the transplanted seed and engrafted buds to grow up to their full beauty in the latter.

Let us now contemplate the revival of classical literature in England, and its intellectual result. This will enable us more completely to ascertain its value; and to mark the utility of the new direction and occupations in which the English and European mind was after the Norman conquest eagerly engaged.

the possession of wealth corrupted the human mind, its history after the conquest of Asia fully shows. How different were their forefathers, and how poor! Even Petronius felt the ill effects of the fashionable luxury of Rome on the mind to be so great, as to say, that 'he who loves the results of superior art, and would apply his mind to great things, must, like the ancients, study under the habits of a strict frugality, and avoid palaces, suppers, wine, and public theatres; with philosophy he should associate, and exercise himself with the arms of the mighty Demosthenes; then the grand elocution of the unconquered Cicero will be his own; his mind will be full of the stream of genius, and he will pour out his own conceptions from a Pierian breast.' l. 1.

## C H A P. II.

*History of the Revival of the Latin Literature in England,  
after the Norman Conquest.*BOOK  
II.

Latin  
literature  
of the  
Anglo-  
Saxons.

THE first literature that arose in England, after the Saxon invasion, was the Roman; introduced by the monks, whom Gregory the Great had sent from Italy. A little Greek was added by one of them<sup>1</sup>, but it did not lead to the permanent cultivation of Greek literature. The books that were placed and studied in the Anglo-Saxon libraries, were, the Roman classics and fathers<sup>2</sup>; and the works of the few Anglo-Saxon students who emerged into celebrity, were little else than transcripts, imitations, and revivals of that species of literature, which had fallen with the Western empire, and whose fragments were afterwards sought after and collected by its barbaric conquerors.

Its decline.

When Alfred endeavoured to direct his countrymen to intellectual cultivation, it was the Roman literature which he presented to their contemplation, in his translations of Boethius and Orosius; and even in Gregory and Bede, who were little else than the Latin fathers reflected and unimproved, except so far

<sup>1</sup> Bede, l. 4. c. 1. The Anglo-Saxon mode of pronouncing the Lord's Prayer in Greek, as given in Hist. Anglo-Sax. v. 2. p. 361. from a Saxon MS. and shows how little the Greek was understood; the words are divided so as to prove that they were repeated by mere parrots, of sounds, the verbal meaning of which was not known.

<sup>2</sup> See the list in Hist. Anglo-Sax. v. 2. pp. 362, 363.

CHAP.  
II.REVIVAL  
OF LATIN  
LITERA-  
TURE  
AFTER THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

as their facts and reasoning were selected from their rhetoric, of which our Bede did not retain, and does not exhibit to us a single ray. This species of letters did not advance the Anglo-Saxon mind. After Alfred's death it rapidly declined. Dunstan and his friends endeavoured to revive it with its rhetorical costume, but in vain. England became under its tuition, a degenerating people. The Anglo-Saxon vernacular literature could give no intellectual succour; for it was of little value, and was never improved: and at the period of the Norman conquest, all sort of learning had almost vanished out of our Island. Such was the state of its most intellectual body, the ecclesiastic, that we find it declared that "the studies of learning and religion had become obsolete; the clergy, contented with a disorderly literature, could scarcely stammer out the words of their sacraments; it was a miracle to the rest if any of them knew grammar<sup>3</sup>." The Anglo-Saxon monks are described to have been stupid and barbarous, living like the laity; following hounds and falcons, racing with horses, shaking the dice, and indulging bacchanalian jovialities where they had the means<sup>4</sup>, and in other places, existing in the most sordid poverty<sup>5</sup>. Even the archbishop and bishops, in the time of the Confessor, are noticed to have been illiterate and sensual men<sup>6</sup>. And thus the Roman literature was found to be as ineffective to general improvement in England, as it had been

<sup>3</sup> Malmsb. l. 3. p. 101.      <sup>4</sup> Ib. pp. 214. 254.<sup>5</sup> Thus in the cathedral of Rochester, there were scarcely four canons, and these had "to endure life with a scanty food, casually obtained from meal to meal." Malmsb. p. 233.<sup>6</sup> Malmsb. 204. 256.



in Italy. Though transplanted among a new people, and patronized by a popular king and a venerated prelate, it never displayed a vigorous or an extensive produce; the national intellect declined under its tuition; and England added another proof of its incompetency alone to regenerate or to fertilize the understanding.

The Normans, fond of pomp, and craving personal distinction<sup>7</sup>, roused the English mind from this intellectual trance, and excited that literary spirit, and commenced that system of education, which, assisted by new sources of instruction, produced a love and cultivation of knowledge that have never since departed from the British isles. The Norman love of fame spread from their warriors to their clergy; the Anglo-Saxon sensuality was corrected, and general emulation produced universal improvement<sup>8</sup>. But how came the Normans, whose ancestors but 150 years before had been fierce pirates, to be the revivers of literature in England and France? Ignorant themselves, whence

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* 256. *Normanni famæ in futurum studiosissimi.* p. 238.

<sup>8</sup> The degeneracy of the Anglo-Saxon manners is thus described by Malmesbury: "Clothed in fine garments, and heedless of their days of abstinence, the monks laughed at their rule. The nobles, devoted to gluttony and voluptuousness, never visited the church; but the matins and the mass were run over to them by a hurrying priest, in their bed-chambers, before they rose, themselves not listening. The common people were a prey to the more powerful; their property seized; their bodies dragged away to distant countries; their maid servants were either thrown into the brothel, or sold as slaves. Drinking day and night was the general pursuit; vices, the companions of inebriety, followed, effeminating the manly mind." l. 3. p. 101, 102. He says, that while they wasted their substance at their tables, their houses were poor and mean; unlike the Franks and Normans, who were economical in their family expenses, but loved spacious and magnificent edifices. *Ib.*

CHAP.  
II.REVIVAL  
OF LATIN  
LITERA-  
TURE  
AFTER THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

came their knowledge and literary taste? From the presence and activity of one individual, himself of barbarous descent—from the celebrated Lanfranc. But Lanfranc was a Lombard—and it is a curious illustration of the fact which we have urged on the attention of our readers, that the barbaric conquests of the declining Roman empire were beneficial to the progression of mankind; that although the Lombards were the most barbarous of all the Gothic invaders, yet among them the literary studies of Italy first revived, its most celebrated schools were established, and its most cultivated states and most enterprising citizens were formed; and from them and from their cities, Pavia and Pisa, learning was planted under Charlemagne in France, and re-planted, both there and in England, under Lanfranc, and his friends and pupils.

Letters were declining in France<sup>9</sup>, notwithstanding the taste and exertions of the Carlovingian family to nationalize the Latin literature within it, when Lanfranc, a Lombard, unknown to fame, and unconscious of his future importance to mankind, was attracted by the military reputation of the Normans to quit his native country, Pavia, and to open a school at an obscure village in their duchy<sup>10</sup>. His humble hopes were shown in the lowly choice of his residence. The abbey of Bec was the poorest and most insignificant of all the Norman monasteries<sup>11</sup>; its abbot

Revived by  
Lanfranc.

<sup>9</sup> Guitmund, the pupil of Lanfranc, says, that at this time “liberales artes intra Gallias pene obsoleverant.” De Euch. Bib. Mag. Pat. t. 6. p. 215.

<sup>10</sup> Ord. Vit. 519. Lanfranc reached it in 1042. Chron. Bec. p. 2. He was wounded by robbers near the place he settled at.

<sup>11</sup> Quo nullum usquam pauperius æstimabatur vel abjectius cœnobium. W. Gemmet. Hist. l. 6. p. 262. He found the abbot

was one of the rudest and most ignorant of their clergy<sup>12</sup>; and the fraternity were in the greatest state of wretchedness and penury<sup>13</sup>. But Providence often works its ends by those humble agencies, which most palpably display the operation to be its own. Lanfranc, the poor emigrant schoolmaster, became the acknowledged cause of the revival of the Latin literature, and the liberal arts, in France<sup>14</sup>. He could not have anticipated a destiny so distinguished; but no individual can foresee the quantity of good which his exertions may produce. We cannot now describe Lanfranc's attractive powers, but the fact is recorded, that, after being there three years unknown, his tuition and assiduity excited, even in this miserable place, so great a love of study, and diffused it so widely around, that scholars flocked to him from all parts and of all ranks<sup>15</sup>. We can only explain the phenomenon, by assuming, that it was the divine plan to make this the æra of a new birth of mind; that Lanfranc, from his preceptorial talents, was the instrument best adapted to begin the happy process;

building an oven himself. Lanfranc lived here three years omnibus ignotus. W. Gemmet. Hist.

<sup>12</sup> His name was Herluin. He did not learn to read till the age of forty. Gisleb. vita Herl. p. 34.

<sup>13</sup> Aliquanto tempore in maxima egestate et penuria extitit. Chronicon Beccense, p. 1. It is printed at the end of Lanfranc's Works, from an old MS. in the monastery.

<sup>14</sup> Guilmund, ubi sup. Malm. 205. The ancient biographer of Lanfranc says, quem latinitas, in antiquum scientiæ statum ab eo restituta, tota agnoscit magistrum. p. 1. and see Ord. Vit. 519.

<sup>15</sup> W. Gemm. 262. Ord. Vit. says, "Under this master the Normans *first* explored the literary arts. Before him, under the six preceding dukes, scarcely any one of the Normans pursued the liberal studies; nor was there a teacher found, till God, the provider for all, sent Lanfranc to the Norman ground." p. 519.

that Normandy, from the love of glory of its people, was the fittest spot; and that contingencies were made to occur, which gave effect to his agency. The scholars of Bec became so respected, that we find a pope indebted to Lanfranc for his instruction there, and having the magnanimity, in the hour of his greatness, publicly to avow it<sup>16</sup>. The celebrity of Lanfranc spread at last to the Ducal court; and the conqueror, able from his own vigorous mind to appreciate talents in others, was so interested by Lanfranc's fame, as to invite him to court, and to make him a confidential counsellor<sup>17</sup>. Soon after the invasion of England, William appointed Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. But dignity and wealth did not dispossess his mind of its literary taste: he exerted himself with unabated zeal, and with proportionate success, to establish in England a knowledge of the Latin language, and the study of its authors; he encouraged the formation of schools, and the progress of the scholars; and he even assisted those of slender means<sup>18</sup>.

To have planted in a rude age and country a love of literature, is a benefaction, which entitles the individual who has accomplished it to gratitude and celebrity. But when from Lanfranc's deserved re-

<sup>16</sup> When Lanfranc went to Rome to receive the pall, he was surprised to see the pope rising respectfully to him as he entered, on his public audience, with this remark, "I do not rise to the archbishop of Canterbury, but to my old master at Bec, in whose school I was instructed." Vita Lanfr. p. 11. This pope, whose gratitude and sensibility so honourably suspended the claims of his rank, was Alexander.

<sup>17</sup> Guil. Pictav. 194. There is reason to believe that the famous Gregory VII. studied under Lanfranc. Murat. Ant. Ital. 897.

<sup>18</sup> Malmsb. 214.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

putation for this success, we turn to his works, we see in them no striking correspondence between his attainments and his utility. His compositions exhibit no uncommon intellect, and great poverty of knowledge, though united with good intention and sincere piety<sup>19</sup>. They have however the great merit of being entirely free from the ancient rhetoric. They are so plain and unadorned as to be dull and uninteresting to a modern reader; but this barren simplicity constituted their peculiar utility; their mental affluence is not great, but it is thought unpainted and therefore unspoiled; it is humble reasoning without artificial declamation, and therefore, as far as it operated, it tended to produce a sound mind and sedate judgment; and therefore, to preserve the Anglo-Norman mind from the tinsel and frippery with which so many of the works of both the Greeks and Latin fathers are encumbered and made, often injurious and commonly mischievous<sup>20</sup>. But he spread, by his exhortations and example, a desire to attain what was then attainable in letters; and to raise the ignorant Norman and English mind to the level of the Roman,

<sup>19</sup> They consist of, his treatise in Defence of Transubstantiation, against Berengarius; a neat arrangement of common arguments for a mysterious Opinion; and Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, which are plain in their style, and not important in their matter. His Rule of St. Benedict, compiled for his monasteries, is clear and precise. His letters are those of a man of business and decision. Lanfranci Opera, Paris, 1648.

<sup>20</sup> I cannot read Massillon, without feeling the mischief of the study of the ancient rhetorical fathers, nor without lamenting that they should have so much spoiled a mind of great powers. The Spanish and Italian preachers create the same impression, and make us doubly value a Xenophon, a Fenelon, and a Paley. The mind of rhetoric, the mind of mere logic, and the mind of rich good sense, are quite distinct acquisitions.



was to begin its intellectual evolution, and to prepare it for the more powerful and efficient agencies that were advancing to affect it.

Lanfranc was succeeded in his school at Bec, and afterwards in his archiepiscopal see, by Anselm, a man following his own natural track, but far superior to himself in cultivated talent, in force of mind, and in literary composition. He has even had the honour of being thought to have furnished Des Cartes with one of the most celebrated reasonings of his metaphysical ingenuity<sup>21</sup>; but he was improved from sources to which Lanfranc had either not resorted, or only began to know.

The most informed ecclesiastics on the Continent were invited from all parts into England, and were placed in its great ecclesiastical dignities, to the rapid improvement of the country<sup>22</sup>. Every where the spirit of learning and better manners, and a taste for noble architecture, was introduced. The fine arts are naturally connected with mental advancement; the pleasures of the eye and ear have been

CHAP.  
II.

REVIVAL  
OF LATIN  
LITERA-  
TURE  
AFTER THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

Anselm  
succeeds  
him.

Anglo-  
Normans  
become  
eager for  
study.

<sup>21</sup> Leibnitz thought that Descartes derived the idea of his well-known reasoning, "I think; therefore I exist"—from some expression of Anselm, in his *Monologion*.

<sup>22</sup> The Canon of Bayeux, made archbishop of York, is highly extolled for his literature. *Malms.* 273.—John of Tours, established at Bath a congregation of monks, distinguished for knowledge. *Ib.* 254.—A Norman bishop filled the church at Dorset with canons of the same literary taste. *Ib.* 290.—The monk of St. Bertin, who accompanied the bishop of Salisbury to England, contributed largely to the diffusion of knowledge in his diocese. *Ib.* p. 130.—Another Norman bishop is mentioned, who was fond of astronomy. *Ib.* p. 286.—The archbishop who succeeded Anselm, was also much attached to learning. *Ib.* p. 230.—So the Norman bishop of Rochester increased the condition of this cathedral magnifice. p. 233.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

justly remarked to be intellectual gratifications; and therefore painting, sculpture, architecture, and music, will always be the delights of cultivated understanding<sup>23</sup>. The Anglo-Saxons felt the powerful influence of the two great principles that were actuating the Norman character—the love of exterior pomp, in preference to animal pleasures, and the desire of reputation. Hence the wealth which the Anglo-Saxons were consuming in the debasing luxuries of the appetite, the Anglo-Normans applied to the erection of great public edifices; the support of schools; the acquisition of books; and to the display of that stately magnificence, which, though productive of pride and ambition, yet was more favourable to human improvement than corrupting sensuality. Their love of fame counteracted the ill effects of their love of pomp, by darting soon at intellectual objects; and their moral virtues<sup>24</sup> concurred with their spirit of emulation and ardent piety, to create by degrees a high principle of personal honour, and a general increase of social probity

<sup>23</sup> Thus Malmesbury declares, that the Normans loved great buildings; and that after the Norman conquest, churches arose in the villages, and monasteries in the cities, *in a new style of building*. The kingdom, by the new customs, began so to flourish, that every opulent man thought the day had been lost, which some act of splendid magnificence had not distinguished. l. 3. p. 102.

<sup>24</sup> We have already noticed the virtues of the Norman character: Malmesbury adds these traits—"They are emulous of their equals, and strive to surpass their superiors. They are faithful to their masters, but abandon them on the least offence. They punish perfidy with death, but commute the sentence for money. The most kind-hearted of all men, they treat strangers with the same respect as themselves. They marry with their inferiors. Since their coming into England, they have raised religion as it were from the dead." l. 3. p. 102.

and individual worth, which gave stability and force to the national progression. CHAP. II.

One impressive description has survived to us, of the great intellectual activity and usefulness of the Norman clergy, to plant in England the literature they had just imbibed. REVIVAL  
OF LATIN  
LITERA-  
TURE  
AFTER THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

On Ingulf's death, Joffred was invited from Normandy, and appointed abbot of Croyland. When he settled in the monastery, he sent to its farm near Cambridge four Norman monks, who were well instructed in what was then called philosophy and science. With all the zeal, and in the manner of our modern itinerant preachers, they hired a public barn at Cambridge, and went thither daily and taught what they knew. In a short time, a great concourse of pupils gathered round them. In the second year of their exertions, the accumulation of scholars from all the country round, as well as from the town, was so great, that the largest house, barn, or even church, was insufficient to contain them. To gratify the extensive demand for their instruction, they separated their labours. In the first part of the morning, one of the friars, who was distinguished as a grammarian, taught the Latin grammar to the younger part of the community; at a later hour, another, who was esteemed an acute sophist, instructed the more advanced in the logic of Aristotle, according to the comments of Porphyry and Averroes; a third friar lectured on rhetoric, from Cicero and Quintilian; the fourth, on Sundays and feast-days preached to the people in various churches; and in this duty Joffred himself frequently co-operated<sup>25</sup>.

A striking  
instance  
of this

In this unadorned account, we have a striking

<sup>25</sup> Hist. Croyland, 1 Gale Script. p. 114.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

proof of the attachment of mankind to intellectual improvement, and their eagerness to embrace every opportunity of acquiring it. The soil is ever ready; the labourers only are wanting, where it continues unproductive.

In the second year of their tuition, we find these five friars, under all the disadvantages of a foreign language, of great national prejudice against them, and of addressing an uncultivated nation<sup>26</sup>, yet succeeding so prosperously in spreading literature around them, that not even the public buildings were large enough to contain the scholars who besought their instruction. If foreign countries under our own government pine still in darkness and base superstitions, it is not from their want of any susceptibility of improvement; it must be our prejudices, and not theirs, which continue their inferiority. No obstacle can be deemed insurmountable by the philanthropical philosopher, who recollects the nations that have been meliorated, and the gratitude with which they have hailed their own improvement and its authors.

Schools  
every  
where es-  
tablished.

One of the first fruits of this revival of literature in England, was the universal establishment of schools. To every cathedral, and almost to every monastery, a school was appended. It is a pleasing feature of the human character, that we are desirous of imparting to others the knowledge we acquire. Few persons of any note appear to us among the

<sup>26</sup> Such was the state of England in the eyes of Lanfranc, at this time, that among the reasons which he gives to the pope for declining at first the mitre of Canterbury, were, not only our speaking an unknown language, but our being a *barbarous* nation. Op. Lanfr. Ep. 1. p. 299.—So Guitmund, as before quoted in p. 88. Barbarous in the estimation of a Lombard and a Norman! But even civilization in its degeneracy deserves the epithet.

clergy, during the century after the conquest, who did not during some part of his life occupy himself in instructing others. Such efforts must have been the produce of genuine benevolence, because, of all intellectual toil, the instruction of youth exacts the greatest labour, and returns the least immediate gratification. Even the popes were active in exciting the cultivation of knowledge: they deserve the credit of having led the way, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in causing the establishment of schools, the formation of libraries, and the directing of the clerical mind to the most useful studies. The commanding efficacy of their persevering recommendations on this momentous subject, affords no small atonement for the misdirection of their influence in their political struggles<sup>27</sup>. Councils held under their legates, even in the thirteenth century, continued to patronise schools<sup>28</sup>. It is true that they were ecclesiastical schools, and that extrinsic study was

<sup>27</sup> Gregory VII. in 1038, ordered that all the bishops should cause the artes literarum to be taught in their churches. Murat. Ant. Ital. 874. And in 1179, in the general council in the Lateran church at Rome, it was declared, "That the church, like a pious mother, ought to provide for the needy, as well those things which are necessary for the body, as those which tend to the progress of the mind: and, lest the opportunity of reading and improvement should be withheld from the poor, who had no paternal wealth to assist them, it directs, that in every cathedral a competent maintenance should be allowed to a master, who should teach the ecclesiastics of that church, and also poor scholars, gratis; and that no money should by any means be exacted for licenses to teach." Ann. Hoveden, p. 589.

<sup>28</sup> Thus the council of Paris held in 1212, under a cardinal legate, prohibited the exaction of any thing for license to teach schooling. It blamed monks who swore not to lend out any books, and ordered the bishops to have reading at their tables at the beginning and end of meals. Dupin, Eccl. Hist. 13th cent. c. 6.



BOOK  
II.  
LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

Pilgrimages  
through  
Greece

watched with some suspicion<sup>29</sup>; but all assisted to increase the national education; and the general improvement in every branch of learning and knowledge attests the efficacy of their encouragement and exertions.

The habit of pilgrimage, and afterwards of the crusades, increased the taste for study. It was impossible for so many, from all ranks and nations in Europe, to visit the Grecian and Arab states, without some conviction of the benefit of superior knowledge, and a general desire to acquire and impart the improvement which they beheld. From the account left by Luithprand, of the wonders he saw at Constantinople—of the metallic tree, on whose brazen branches gilt birds were made to sing—of the throne supported by gilded lions, who roared at his approach—of the other shows and tricks which he witnessed, and of the horse-laugh with which his astonishment was received by the conceited courtiers<sup>30</sup>—it would seem that the saucy Greeks amused themselves with making the western barbarians stare. These specimens of their mechanical skill may have first interested a rude stranger's notice; but their tasteful architecture, their elegant sculptures, their fine manuscripts, their celebrated loquacity, and the fame of the poets and philosophers who once adorned their name, must have powerfully impressed the attention of many; and have created that feeling of deficiency and that desire of emulation which are the certain parents of improvement<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> The 20th article of this council forbad those admitted into a monastery to go out to study, and ordered the absent to return within two months. Dupin, 13 cent.

<sup>30</sup> Luithprand, l. 6. c. 2 & 3.

<sup>31</sup> We see this effect in some men, whose names have escaped

A nation that has been highly civilized, will display even in its degeneracy some features of its nobler state, which will make the uncultivated mind sensible of its inferiority, and aspire to remove it. Greece has thus acted upon every nation, but one, with which it has been connected ; it has kindled mental emulation among all people who have become acquainted with the monuments of its arts and literature, except among the Turks ; they only have the glory or the disgrace of having for ages deafened themselves to its syren songs—they only have remained sternly impenetrable to those attractions which have been found every where else so seductive and so beneficial <sup>32</sup>.

CHAP.  
II.REVIVAL  
OF LATIN  
LITERA-  
TURE  
AFTER THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

A visible progress appeared in England after these pilgrimages had become common, increasing, as the crusades increased the intercourse with Constantinople and the East. So great indeed became the enthusiasm for learning, among the Anglo-Normans, that besides the cathedral and conventual schools, others arose in many parts of the country <sup>33</sup> ; and as

increase  
the ardour  
for study.

the ravages of time. One Johannes Italus, who went to Constantinople in 1070, is praised by the princess Anna Commena, for his knowledge of *Greek* literature, and all the arts. Two others are also mentioned about the same time for their Greek learning ; Andreas Sacerdos, ‘ in Græcis et Latinis sermonibus virilis ;’ and Ambrosius Beffius, ‘ in Latinis literis et Græcis eruditus.’ Murat. Hist. Ital. p. 874, 5.

<sup>32</sup> Goddess of Wisdom ! here thy temple was,  
And is, despite of war and wasting fire ; —  
But worse than steel, and flame, and ages slow,  
Is the dread sceptre and dominion dire  
Of men, who never felt the sacred glow

That thoughts of thee and thine on polish'd breasts bestow.

Childe Harold, cant. 2.

<sup>33</sup> Stephanides mentions three principal schools of celebrity in

soon as the improvement of the scholars had exhausted the knowledge of their instructors, they became emulous of travelling to other countries, wherever teachers of celebrity were established, or new subjects of study appeared <sup>34</sup>.

The first students were the clergy; but the passion for literature spread soon beyond them. The wisdom of the Conqueror procured for his son Henry, the best education of the day. This prince deserved his surname of Fine-scholar, for he became so fond of letters, that neither wars nor the cares of state could shake them from his mind <sup>35</sup>. His first queen, Mathilda, cultivated them <sup>36</sup>; and the books addressed to the "bel Alice," his second, attest her attainments <sup>37</sup>. His natural son, the count of Gloucester, so distinguished for his struggles in behalf of his sister, against Stephen, was ardent both as a student and a patron. His friend Malmsbury says, that he made his studies a part of his glory; that he befriended and conversed with men of letters, even though poor and obscure <sup>38</sup>; that he so earnestly culti-

London, in Becket's youth, p. 4. And that many were elsewhere we may infer, from the order of the Synod of Westminster, in 1138, That if the masters of schools permitted others to hold such seminaries, they should not exact any profit from them. Chron. Gervas, p. 1348. ed. Twysd.—Ingulf says he studied at Westminster and Oxford, p. 73.

<sup>34</sup> Becket went to Bologne to study the civil law. Steph. p. 12. Many Englishmen went to Paris, when the teachers there became eminent. Leland, in his *de Script. Brit.* v. 1. gives several instances. We have the verses of one scholar of this time, still extant, recommending his friend to visit Paris.

<sup>35</sup> Malmsb. 155.

<sup>36</sup> Ib. 164.

<sup>37</sup> See Philippe du Than, mentioned hereafter.

<sup>38</sup> Malmsb. p. 6.

CHAP.  
II.REVIVAL  
OF LATIN  
LITERA-  
TURE  
AFTER THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

vated his intellectual taste, that even when surrounded with the most disquieting occupations, he always seized some hours in which he read to himself, or heard others read<sup>39</sup>. Patronage became fashionable. Osmund, the bishop of Sherborn, not only collected a large library, but he received with great liberality every ecclesiastic that was distinguished for learning, and persuaded them to reside with him<sup>40</sup>.

Many persons contributed to the general progress, by assiduously forming libraries<sup>41</sup>; and the spirit arose in the monasteries, of educating the younger monks to the habit of neat and correct writing, that the copies of authors works might be multiplied. Without this happy practice, the progress of literature must have been confined to a few individuals, because the cost of books was enormous; and their use in the great libraries was much restricted, on account of their value. Even the prelates were not weary of transcribing<sup>42</sup>. As the transcripts multiplied, the permission to inspect them was more liberally conceded, and their diffusion extended<sup>43</sup>.

MSS. mul-  
tiplied by  
copies.<sup>39</sup> Malmsb. p. 174.<sup>40</sup> Ib. 250.<sup>41</sup> Thus the two abbots mentioned by Matt. Paris, Hist. Abb. Alb. p. 64.—Croyland library, at the time of its fire in 1091, had 300 volumina originalia, and above 400 minora volumina. Ing. p. 98.<sup>42</sup> Thus the bishop of Sherborn, nec scribere nec scriptos legare fastideret. Malm. p. 250.—Hugo Candidus has left us a very respectable list of the books which Benedict, the abbot of Peterborough, had written who was chosen 1177. Hist. p. 99.<sup>43</sup> Ingulf gives us a specimen of their rules on this point: "We forbid, under the penalty of excommunication, the lending of our books, as well the smaller without pictures, as the larger with pictures, to distant schools, without the abbot's leave, and his certain knowledge within what time they would be restored. As to the smaller books, as Psalteries, Donatus, Cato, et similibus

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

We have an instance of an individual's patriotic exertion in this respect, in Simon of St. Albans, who from his own taste maintained liberally two or three select writers in his chamber, where he prepared, says the authority, an invaluable plenty of the best books. He made it a rule in his monastery, that every future abbot should always keep a good writer <sup>44</sup>. The scriptorial taste of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, is manifested by the general beauty of the writing of their manuscripts which have survived to us.

Ignorance  
became  
discredit-  
able.

The seeds of knowledge thus liberally sown after the middle of the eleventh century, sprang up to a fertile harvest in the next, and especially after vernacular compositions appeared. The great not only patronised the students, but excited them to exert their talents in composition. Thus the count of Gloucester desired Malmsbury to write his History <sup>45</sup>; and the bishop of Lincoln induced Henry of Huntingdon to compile his Annals <sup>46</sup>. Literary pursuits becoming a source of distinction and preferment, all ranks caught the flame. And when the vernacular literature, which we are about to notice, became diffused, knowledge no longer pined in solitary gloom within the cells of a cloister or the walls of a school; it was invited to adorn the hall of the baron, the chamber of the lady, and the court of the prince. The sturdy knight began to find his iron mail and trophied lance an insufficient distinc-

poeticis ac quaternis de cantu, adapted to the boys, and the relations of the monks, &c. we forbade them to be lent for above one day, without leave of the prior. pp. 104, 105.

<sup>44</sup> Matt. Paris, Abb. Alb. p. 93.

<sup>45</sup> Malm. p. 174.

<sup>46</sup> Hen. Hunt. p. 296.



CHAP.  
II.REVIVAL  
OF LATIN  
LITERA-  
TURE  
AFTER THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

tion; to win the smile he valued, and to maintain the reputation he had acquired, he found it necessary to emulate some of the studies of the churchman. Even the ladies of the great not only learnt to read and judge, but some females also to write <sup>47</sup>. After the twelfth century, ignorance became discreditable, the mark of a barbarous country, a vulgar origin, or a degraded taste. Pope Adrian, an Englishman, and the only Englishman that has reached the papal chair, found the deficiencies of his mind a bar to his preferment, for he was rejected at St. Albans, for want of sufficient learning. His becoming pride felt the shame of the rebuke; he went to Paris, and laboured indefatigably till he excelled his fellow students <sup>48</sup>.

But what was the first produce of this studious enthusiasm? The knowledge of the Latin language became general in the monasteries; the Latin classics were familiarized to the Anglo-Norman mind; Latin versifiers abounded; and the knowledge of ancient Rome was transplanted into Britain.

First pro-  
duce of the  
Anglo-  
Norman  
literature.

To have attained these instruments of improvement, was to have made an important advance. The Latin language is now as much of ornament as utility; but it was then the only key to intellectual instruction. The vernacular languages of Europe at that time contained, besides some necessary but rude legislation, and a few wild tales or wilder traditions, little else than their native poetry; an artificial

Latin  
language  
attained.

<sup>47</sup> Heloisa, in her letters to Abelard, displays great cultivation of mind. Marie, in her lays, equals any of her contemporaries, in the easy flow of her versification, and the spirit of some of her descriptions.

<sup>48</sup> Matt. Paris, Alb. Abb. p. 66.

chain of sounds, with imperfect melody, penurious meaning, barbarous feelings, and rarely with any perceptible utility. All that it was meliorating or valuable to know, was in Latin or Greek; and as, by a happy prejudice, permitted to continue by Providence for its usefulness, the religious services of the church were kept in the Latin language, the clergy of every Christian country were compelled to acquire it, for it was found that if they did not, they ridiculously mispronounced it<sup>49</sup>. Thus made general from technical necessity, it was found convenient as an universal language, in which the students and writers of every part of Europe could communicate with each other; it became the language of their correspondence as well as of their compositions; and from the unceasing importance of the acquisition, grammar, or the art of understanding and writing Latin correctly, was the earliest and the most common study of all the schools we have alluded to. Priscian and Donatus were the masters resorted to; and from this custom, the merry priest Walter Mapes derives the image by which he personifies grammar, in his satire on misused learning: "Here is Priscian giving stripes to the hands"<sup>50</sup>. The castigation, however

<sup>49</sup> As in the well-known *mumpsimus* for *sumpsimus*. Even a pope could be so ignorant of Latin, as to write—"eorumque novilissimis suivoles—una cum indiculum—una cum omnes benebentani." This occurs in a letter of Adrian I. Murat, Ant. Ital. p. 811.

<sup>50</sup> This poem is called the *Apocalypsis Golyæ Episcopi*. It is a MS. in the British Museum, Harl. Lib. No. 978. He fancies that, as he is lying in a grove, he sees the form of Pythagoras standing before him, but bearing all the sciences about him, in this strange guise—

In fronte micuit ars Astrologica;  
Dentium seriem regit Grammatica;

general, was not always availing; for even Priscian, with all the activity of his ferula, could not make some minds recollect either the cases or the conjugations<sup>51</sup>. But a very high degree not only of precision, but even of elegance, was attained by a few. The fabulous history of Jeffry displayed a command of Latin style, which, aided by its subject, gave it a rapid circulation over Europe. The miscellaneous Essays of John of Salisbury deserve and have received, even from distant nations, a lavish commendation<sup>52</sup>. William of Malmsbury, with his eye fixed on the Roman historians, has left us a work which, though no rival of his avowed models, nor equal in style to that of Saxo-Grammaticus, almost his contemporary, yet is superior in composition to the annalists of his age, and to any preceding historian since the classical authors<sup>53</sup>. Anselm has

In lingua pulchrius vernat Rhetorica ;  
Concussis æstuat in labiis Logica ;  
In Arithmetica digitis socia ;  
In cava Musica ludit articula ;  
Pallens in oculis stat Geometrica ;—  
In tergo scriptæ sunt Artes Mechanicæ.

<sup>51</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis furnishes us with an instance of this sort, in the old hermit his friend, who would say *Noli*, for *nolo*; *Vana*, for *vanum*; and the infinitive active, for the infinitive passive. Giraldus de se gestis. *Anglia Sacra*, v. 2. p. 497.

<sup>52</sup> His chief works are the *De nugis Curialium*, and the *Metalogicon*. Stephanus often quotes him, in his notes on Saxo, and with these eulogiums:—*aureus scriptor—elegantior ut omnia—auctor cum veterum quopiam comparandus*. p. 151 and p. 2.

<sup>53</sup> His *de Gestis Regum Anglorum* extends from Hengist to Henry I. in five books. His *Historiæ Novellæ*, in two more, pursues our history to the escape of the empress Matilda from Oxford. He wrote five others on the prelates of England.

BOOK also a lucid neatness of diction, which even now may  
II. be read with pleasure and advantage <sup>54</sup>.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

Latin  
versifiers.

The reputation of good poetry is so great, that adventurers for the Parnassian laurel are never wanting. To write Latin verses became a favourite employment with the monks. Almost every author was ambitious to excel in this harmless toil. It would be as absurd to dignify their compositions, as our college exercises, with the name of poetry; they were merely specimens of their attainments of the Latin grammar and Latin prosody. But the practice ensured the preservation and the study of the great classical authors, and was perpetually operating to create a good poetical taste. Joseph of Exeter indeed surprises us by a versification, in his poem on the Trojan War, which reads almost classical <sup>55</sup>; and Jeffry of Monmouth attained a smoothness and fluency in his poetical diction, which Milton has condescended to notice <sup>56</sup>. The jocose poetry of

<sup>54</sup> His *Monologium*, or *Metaphysical Contemplations* on the Essence of the Deity, written at the request of his friends, who admired his speculations; and his *Prosologion*, a chain of reasoning composed on the solicitations of others, who wished that some one argument might be found to prove the divine existence; are interesting treatises, which do credit to his Latin diction.

<sup>55</sup> It contains, in six books, 3,636 good hexameters, but not always good taste, as witness—

*Nox fera, nox vera, nox noxia, turbida, tristis,*

*Insidiosa, ferox, tragicis ululanda cothurnis,*

*Aut satyra rodenda gravi.*—l. 6. v. 760.

It is printed at the end of the *Dictys Cretensis*, and *Dares Phrygius*, in the edition of Amsterdam 1702. He also wrote a poem on the crusades, called the *Antiocheis*, of which only a few lines on Arthur have been preserved.

<sup>56</sup> Milton, in his *History of England*, says of the verses which

Walter Mapes is also free and voluble, and sometimes happy, though he attempts to bend the majesty of the Roman diction to the rhymes and cadence of our popular poetry. His chief merits were, good sense, good humour, and some useful satire. These vital qualities tempt us to forget his bacchanalian jovialities<sup>57</sup>.

CHAP.  
II.  
REVIVAL  
OF LATIN  
LITERA-  
TURE  
AFTER THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

Other authors among us displayed no inconsiderable power of arranging their dactyles and

Jeffry inserted in his History, "They are much better than for his age, unless perhaps Joseph of Exeter, the only smooth poet of the times, befriended him." Milton seems not to have known Jeffry's poem on the life of Merlin, which is in MS. in the British Museum. Cotton. Lib. Vespasian E 4. The passages quoted from this MS. in the vindication of the ancient British poets, will be found smooth and fluent. Mr. Ellis has given a copious account of its contents, in his Specimen of ancient Romances, vol. 1.

<sup>57</sup> Camden has printed, in his Remains, Mapes' verses on Wine, and on the lives of the Clergy. In the British Museum, both in the Harleian and King's Library, are many of his MS. poems. His mirth is not always pure, but his satire is usually good humoured, and the free spirit of his muse announces the improving spirit of his country.—His critique on the ancient authors is worth preserving :

Hic Priscianus est dans palmis verbera  
Est Aristoteles verberans aëra.  
Verborum Tullius demulcet aspera.  
Fert Ptolomeus se totum in sidera.  
Tractat Boetius innumerabilia.  
Metitur Euclides locorum spatia.  
Frequens Pythagoras pulsat fabrilia.  
Traxit a malleis vocum primordia.  
Lucanum video ducem bellantium.  
Formantem aëreas muscas Virgilium.  
Pascentem fabulis turbas Ovidium.  
Nudantem satiros dicaces Perseum.  
Incomparabilis est Statius statio.  
Cujus detinuit res comparatio.  
Saltat Terentius plebeius ystro.—Harl. MS. 978.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

spondees into plausible imitations of the classical metres. To notice all, when the crowd was so great, would be absurd; it will be sufficient to mention two, from the importance of their subjects. One was Geoffry Vinesauf, the friend, companion, and encomiast of our Richard I. who attempted to teach his contemporaries the art of poetry, or criticism in Latin verse<sup>58</sup>. He treats on invention and memory, on the ornaments of the style, and the disposition of the thoughts; he explains the tropes and figures of poetry, and dilates on the description, the prosopopeia and the apostrophe. He is even bold enough to attempt by his own example to strengthen all his laws; though his lamentation on his king, and its apostrophe on Friday, the day on which Richard fell, may induce us to prefer his criticism to his poetry<sup>59</sup>.

The Anti-Claudianus of Alanus de insulis<sup>60</sup>, who is perhaps better known as the commentator on our Merlin, than as a poet, treats on the seven arts and sciences, and morals, with great fluency of versification, and some good precepts. He was certainly a man of talent, and has left another singular work in his 'Doctrinale Altum.' This is also called his 'Parabolarum.' It is a series of moral aphorisms,

<sup>58</sup> It is entitled, *De Arte Dictandi, or De Nova Poetica*. It is in the British Museum, Cott. MS. Cleop. B 6. pp. 1—30. where it is followed by another work on prose, intermixed with verse, on the same subject.—His History of Richard's expedition to Palestine has been already noticed.

<sup>59</sup> *O Veneris lacrimosa dies! O sidus amarum!*

*Illa dies tua nox fuit, et Venus illa Venenum,*

*Illa dedit vulnus!*

Bromton Chron. 1280.

<sup>60</sup> It is in the Cott. MS. above mentioned, Cleop. B 6.—It is not clear whether this Alan was an Englishman or not. An account of his life and writings may be read in Tanner's very useful *Bibliotheca Monastica*, p. 16.

in six books<sup>61</sup>. Each remark is preceded by some natural image or simile, not unlike the Gorwynion of the old Welsh bard, Llywarch Hen. The first book gives two lines to the remark and its imagerical introduction; and these, in every succeeding book, are expanded by two additional lines above the number of those preceding. As I have never seen the work quoted, the notes will contain some specimens of the four first books<sup>62</sup>. But if these and

CHAP.  
II.

REVIVAL  
OF LATIN  
LITERA-  
TURE  
AFTER THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

Alan's Pa-  
rabolarum.

<sup>61</sup> Of the two copies I have seen, one was printed at Daventry in 1494, and the other, without a date, at Cologne, with a prose commentary.

<sup>62</sup> The Parables in the first book are an hexameter and a pentameter; as,—

Clarior est solito post maxima nubila Phœbus.  
Post inimicitias clarior esset amor.

Loricam duram possunt penetrare sagittæ.  
Sic cor derisum et mala verba meum.

Fragrantes vicena rosas curtica perurit.  
Et justos semper turbat iniquus homo.

Ictibus undarum rupes immota resistit.  
Et bonus, assiduis fluctibus, omnis homo.

Non possum cohibere canem quin latrat ubique :  
Nec queo mendaci claudere labra viro.

In the second book each reflection is increased to four lines, thus :—

Non possunt habitare simul contraria, cum sint  
Mors et vita. Procul decedet hæc ab ea.  
Sic duo sunt quæ non possunt intrare cor unum  
Vanus amor mundi, Verus amorque Dei.

Apparet et fantasma viris ; sed rursus ab illis  
Vertitur in nihilum, quod fuit ante nihil,  
Sic adest et abest fugitivi gloria census :  
Non prius adventat quod quasi fumus eat.

In the third book six lines are devoted to each thought, as this judicious one on flogging :—

Diversis diversa valent medicamina morbis :  
Ut variant morbi, sic variantur ea.

innumerable others, who tried the Cynthian lyre, have not increased our catalogue of good Latin poetry, they certainly improved and stimulated the intellect of their contemporaries, and circulated an attachment to the ancient classics, by which the general taste was benefited when other studies came into fashion.

It would exceed both the limit and object of this Work, to detail, in regular catalogue, the ecclesiastical writers who filled the middle ages with Latin verse or prose<sup>63</sup>. That respectable mediocrity of

Non uno, doctrina modo se mentibus infert.  
His timor : his monitus, his adhibetur amor.  
Quadrupes adquare nequis, dum percutis illos.  
Nec cogit pueros Virga studere rudes.

Another attempts Satire :

Ridiculus mus est qui muribus imperat, et qui  
Tanquam rex horum sic dominatur eis.  
Non minor est risus de servo, quando levatur  
In dominum : quando voce, manu ferit.  
Asperius nihil est humili ; dum surgit in altum  
Pingitur in celso, Simià, sede sedens.

The fourth book exhibits his Parables expressed in eight lines ; the following is very pretty :

Non omnis socius fidus est. Non omne fidele  
Pectus. Non omni me sociare volo.  
Qui socius volet esse meus, non alter et idem  
Fiat ego : qui non est satis alter ego  
Non teneo socium. Qui scit quod nescio, vel qui  
Id, quod non habeo, me preter illud habet.  
Cum socio socius deliberat omnià doctus  
Cum sibi concordant consona corda duo.

In the fifth book each idea has ten lines devoted to it, and in the sixth, twelve.

<sup>63</sup> Some of these will be noticed in our subsequent observations on the rimed Latin poetry. Leland, Tanner, Ball, Pitts, Fabricius, and Leyser, will give abundant information. The greater number of the versifiers were satisfied with their hexameters and pentameters without rime. I observe that very few endeavoured to

mind, which the Latin literature is well adapted to produce, was the attainment of the best. From this moderate level others descended, in varying degrees, to the humblest dullness. In reading a few, you exhaust the scanty ideas of all, and you desire to read no more. But this was not the fault of their talent, but of their instruction ; their minds were new soil, fit for the most vigorous vegetation ; but the Latin literature that was transplanted into them, was composed of the flowering, not the fruitful plants. Our ancestors produced as much from it as the later Romans had done ; its unprolific nature forbade a better harvest.

CHAP.  
II.REVIVAL  
OF LATIN  
LITERA-  
TURE  
AFTER THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

In characterising our writers of the middle age as dull and unimproving now, I do not wish to be understood to depreciate their contemporary utility ; in the commencement of mental culture, such literature must occur, and it does not occur unprofitably. The literary improvements of every country slowly and gradually accumulate ; myriads of minds must labour, and a great proportion must give diction and publicity to the fruits of their secret toil, before a large population can be visibly benefited. To suit the various circumstances and tempers of mankind, numerous must be the paths of the studious, and very diversified their produce. No labourer in this great field is useless or unimportant ; the meanest effort will find some individual, whose humble capacity is as-

Estimation  
of their  
intellectual  
utility.

imitate Horace.—The British Museum contains, in hexameters and pentameters, The *Monita Moralia* of Nigellus Wireker, addressed to the Chancellor of Richard I. MS. Cott. Julius A 7.—Also a poem of 2,720 flowing lines, on the Life of St. Albans, with much Scripture history intermixed, written by Robert of Dunstable, about 1150. MS. Cott. Julius D 3.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

sisted by the tribute; and till inferior cultivators have brought the soil into a state fit for a nobler harvest, the sublimer intellects cannot appear, or would operate, if they did, with inconsiderable effect. Hence, although our early history presents to us a crowd of Latin students, whose writings we have long consigned to oblivion, and whose names we disturb only to deride; yet they have all been, in various degrees, benefactors to society: they were the laborious teachers of absolute ignorance, which their tuition removed; and it is the success of their labours in improving their countrymen, which has made their services forgotten.

Valuable  
chronicles  
of the  
Anglo-  
Norman  
monks.

The most valuable part of the Anglo-Norman Latin literature was the annals, chronicles and histories, composed by the monks; works indeed so invariably associated with our habitual contempt, that it may be thought absurd to praise them here. To the graces of style they have certainly no pretensions; if they had, they might, like Saxo-Grammaticus, have been historically worthless. With the charms of order, the powers of forcible description, the use of profound reflection, or the art of intellectual criticism, they were entirely unacquainted. The superstitious legend they delighted to detail, for they sincerely believed it; they never omitted a rumored prodigy, and were ever ready to exaggerate an extraordinary natural phenomenon. With these defects, what then was their value? The simple habit of plainly annalizing the main facts of history that occurred. Such a series of regular chronology and true incident; such faithful, clear and ample materials for authentic history, had scarcely appeared before: nothing could be more contemptible as com-



positions; nothing could be more satisfactory as authorities. Their simplicity was advantageous to their veracity; and when the monastic habit of composing them ceased, their place was but poorly supplied by the loquacious lay-chroniclers, half romances, at least in their dress, which succeeded. It is easy to separate their legends from their facts; and perhaps the modern use of certain and correct chronology may be ascribed to their precise habit, of always dating the years of the events which they record <sup>64</sup>.

CHAP.  
II.  
REVIVAL  
OF LATIN  
LITERA-  
TURE  
AFTER THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

<sup>64</sup> Of these, some of the principal are,—

|                                    |   |   |   |   |            |
|------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|------------|
| Ingulf, who ends                   | - | - | - | - | A. D. 1091 |
| Petrus Blessensis, continued it to | - | - | - | - | 1118       |
| Florence of Worcester              | - | - | - | - | 1117       |
| Continued to                       | - | - | - | - | 1141       |
| Henry of Huntingdon                | - | - | - | - | 1154       |
| Simeon of Durham                   | - | - | - | - | 1130       |
| Hoveden                            | - | - | - | - | 1202       |
| Eadmer                             | - | - | - | - | 1122       |
| Matthew Paris                      | - | - | - | - | 1259       |
| Rishanger's Continuation to        | - | - | - | - | 1273       |
| Gervas                             | - | - | - | - | 1200       |
| William of Malmsbury               | - | - | - | - | 1143       |
| Alured of Beverly                  | - | - | - | - | 1129       |
| Bromton, about                     | - | - | - | - | 1200       |
| Cron. Petri-burgi                  | - | - | - | - | 1259       |
| Continued, by Rob. Boston, to      | - | - | - | - | 1368       |
| William of Newborough              | - | - | - | - | 1197       |
| Ralph de diceto, about             | - | - | - | - | 1200       |
| Benedict Abbas                     | - | - | - | - | 1192       |
| Thomas Wikes                       | - | - | - | - | 1304       |
| Annals of Waverly                  | - | - | - | - | 1291       |
| Matthew of Westminster             | - | - | - | - | 1307       |

As in every monastery there was some curious mind, fond of noting the great incidents of his day, every country in Europe has such chronicles. But I think with Dr. Henry, that, upon the whole, our annalists are superior to those of any other nation, at this period.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

Limited  
utility of  
the Roman  
classics;

But the Latin literature which was cultivated after Lanfranc, was rather useful in beginning a literary taste in England, and in forming those men who deviated afterwards into other studies, than for its own intrinsic and productive affluence. However valuable the best Latin classics will be to all ages, for their taste, their chastised beauties of style, their eloquence, and their occasional good sense, they do not impart, because they do not contain, any large funds of knowledge, great originality of thought, or important associations of ideas: they are but the best Grecian classics re-appearing, with augmented judgment and some variety of features, in a new language. Science, the Romans never valued, nor much understood. Mathematical studies, the proudest part of Grecian knowledge, were never popular in Greece itself, and scarcely visited Italy<sup>65</sup>. All the natural history and philosophy which could be collected within the precincts of the Roman empire, in its largest circle, and from the labours of anterior time, Pliny embodied in his work. His countrymen never increased his store, and scanty is its amount! And it was applied both by Pliny and Lucretius, and by those who afterwards studied it from them, to establish the system of Epicurus, which pushed the Divine Creator out of nature<sup>66</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> Theodoric, in his letter to Boetius, commends him, because, by *his* translations, the Italians could read Pythagoras on Music, Ptolemy on Astronomy, Euclid on Geometry, Nichomachus on Arithmetic, and Archimedes on Mechanics. He adds, "Whatever disciplinæ or arts, fruitful Greece has produced, by you, *uno auctore*, Rome has received into her vernacular language." Yet Boetius did not live till the sixth century.

<sup>66</sup> It is a remarkable fact, which we learn from Quintilian, that Epicurus directed his disciples to avoid the study of the sciences

The Latin poets that convey useful instruction to posterity, are not more numerous than their dramatists. Their historians, together with Cicero, Seneca, Quintilian, and Epictetus, exhibit the intellects most serviceable to future ages ; but even these, like the Latin fathers, with their superior topics, are not affluent in extensive knowledge, and are insufficient to create a vigorous original mind. It is one thing to please a cultivated taste, it is another thing to instruct, enlarge and advance. The scholar will feast on the Virgilian graces ; but they alone would leave the young student almost as barren and as ignorant as they found him : his mental growth demands more substantial and more affluent, though coarser, nutriment ; and if he be confined to the diet of the Roman classics, he will not be more informed nor more productive than the authors we are considering.

CHAP.  
II.

REVIVAL  
OF LATIN  
LITERA-  
TURE  
AFTER THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

Hence, when the Anglo-Saxons, Normans, Franks, and other Gothic nations, had transplanted into their own, all the Roman mind which its writers had

and of  
their  
ancient  
imitators.

1. 12. This injunction was fatal to their intellectual progress, as indeed all his leading doctrines were. Hence, though he was temperate, his followers, pursuing his principles to their natural consequences, became mere sensualists. Lactantius says, that his sect became far more popular than others. Div. Inst. l. 3. c. 17. Yet during his lifetime he was unknown and almost unattended. Seneca, ep. 79. It is Lucretius that so extravagantly extols him for having been the first to assert that no part of the world was created, and for trying so feebly to explain its origin without a Deity : and who first made him popular in Rome, by writing his poem in praise of his system, at the critical moment when the mercenary luxury, pride, ambition and individual selfishness of degenerating Romans made them eager to believe that there was no superior power in the universe to control their conduct, or to make them responsible for it.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

perpetuated; though their scholars, thus far accomplished, learned to write Latin, often with elegance and correct prosody, and acquired from it a cultivation which made them like moons in a benighted age, yet their borrowed light spread but feebly around them, and was not transmissible to future times. Aldhelm, Bede, Alcuin, Erigena, Lanfranc, Anselm, Iscanus, Jeffry, Becket, John of Salisbury, and many others of a similar class, although displaying the utmost improvment of mind, which an education formed on the Roman literature could impart, and not inferior in native talent to any Roman writer of the later periods of the empire; yet are so inferior to our ideas of excellence, and so deficient in our accumulated knowledge, that their best compositions we think of with disdain, and never deign to unfold.

The tri-  
vium and  
quadri-  
vium.

The trivium and quadrivium—the terms within which the sciences of the middle age were comprised—awake our contempt the moment they occur, because they recal the image of barbarian ages, and seem to be the drivelling pedantry of barbarian ignorance. But let our ancestors have their proper merit: although to us they are pigmies, they were not so to their predecessors. The studies implied by these two monastic vocables, and in the two jargon hexameters that define the subjects they comprised<sup>67</sup>, conveyed all that the Romans knew, cultivated or taught. They comprised the whole encyclopedia of the ancient knowledge. The books from which they were learnt, were the best treatises which the Roman empire possessed upon them. Confined

<sup>67</sup> Gramm. loquitur; Dia. vera docet; Rhet. verba colorat:  
Mus. canit; Ar. numerat; Geo. ponderat; Ast. colit astra.

indeed was the knowledge they conveyed ; and our emulous forefathers were but feeble thinkers, when they had mastered them all ; but in possessing themselves of these, they acquired the knowledge which their Roman teachers had enjoyed. When they had finished the circuit of the trivium and quadrivium, they had transferred all the intellect of the Roman empire into their own ; and if knowledge be the criterion of their merit, the good scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were not inferior to those of Rome after the age of Tacitus and Quintilian. In taste and elegance, and polished genius, it would be absurd to compare them with the ornaments of the Augustan age ; but these authors were in the third century beyond the approach of their own countrymen ; and it is therefore no disgrace to the middle ages, that their inferiority was not dissimilar.

The truth seems to be, that the classical minds whom we are accustomed to venerate, were not formed merely from the literature that preceded them, but from the general intellect, business, conversation, and pursuits of their day. It is a mistake to imagine that a man of great intellectual eminence is made only from his library ; he is the creature of the improvement of society about him, reflecting upon him the rays of a thousand minds, and pouring into him information from a thousand quarters ; every hour his understanding, if it has the capacity, is insensibly directed, enriched and exercised, by the knowledge and talent that is everywhere breathing, acting and conferring around him ; his mind expands, without his own consciousness of its enlargement ; his ideas multiply independently of his will ; his judgment rectifies, his moral or political wisdom

CHAP.  
II.

REVIVAL  
OF LATIN  
LITERA-  
TURE  
AFTER THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

Improved  
intellect  
not formed  
by study  
only.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

Literature  
declines  
when  
society de-  
generates.

increases with his experience; and he becomes at last a model imperceptibly benefiting others, as he has been benefited himself.

Thus Cicero, Tacitus, and Thucydides, were formed, as well as Scipio, Epaminondas, and Cæsar. But as soon as moral and political degeneracy had withered the Roman mind, and voluptuousness had corrupted it, the intellectual tone and affluence of their improved society ceased<sup>68</sup>. Instead of that cultivated and active talent, which, from the Letters of Tully, we see that at least some high-minded Romans once possessed, a debased, sordid, sensual, illiterate mind, appeared, valuing nothing but a babbling rhetoric, that might from an age of imbecility procure food for its vanity, or minister to its selfishness. Such a state of intellect and literature, our Gothic ancestors found in the Roman provinces, which they subdued; and though they at last collected into their libraries the works of the nobler minds of this deteriorated race, yet the books without the living education benefited little; and unless new revolutions had disclosed new sources of improvement, and created a new spirit of activity, cultivation, discussion and thought, the human mind would still have remained as dwarfed and barren, as monotonous and feeble, as it was in all the writers of the middle ages, who drank only at the fountains of the Latin Muses<sup>69</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> Cicero, in a fine passage, which lord Bacon has cited, distinguishes the ancient Romans as transcending all other nations in their steady love of religion.

<sup>69</sup> That England is not indebted to the Latin writers for its mathematical knowledge, we may see from John of Salisbury. He says, that in his time, the twelfth century, "Geometry is very little attended to amongst us, and is only studied by some people

But the Roman literature, whatever be the amount of its intrinsic merits, was manifestly insufficient for the progress of the human intellect, from two other circumstances—its limited diffusion, and its tendency to prevent originality of thought.

As the Latin language was not the common language of society in England, its instructive operation was confined to the monastic and clerical body. It gave no improvement to the nobleman, the knight, the yeoman, the merchant, the vassal, or the burgher, who could not understand it<sup>70</sup>; their ignorance remained undiminished. Amid all the seminaries of study, they could know no more than their spiritual guides chose to impart; and how scanty the dole of knowledge from the papal hierarchy to the populace, has always been, not only the middle ages, but our own times attest. If, then, the Latin literature had continued the only study in England, the ecclesiastical bodies would have been so many Christian druids; so many British bramins; the only informed portion of an ignorant community; whom they would learn to despise, from not condescending to enlighten; whom, too anxious to govern, they would have debilitated and degraded.

in Spain, Egypt, and Arabia, for the sake of astronomy." Metalog. l. 4. c. 6.

<sup>70</sup> That the nobility were unacquainted with Latin in the time of Henry II. we find from the speech of the earl of Arundel to the Pope. He was one of the commissioners sent by Henry, with some other great barons, and several prelates, to the pontiff. His mission would imply that the most informed nobles had been selected. The bishops made their address in Latin. The earl then began in English, "My lord! what the bishops have spoken to you, we illiterate laymen do not at all understand: We will therefore tell you for ourselves, why we are sent."—Vita Becket, l. 2. c. 9. p. 74.

CHAP.  
II.

REVIVAL  
OF LATIN  
LITERA-  
TURE  
AFTER THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

Latin literature not fitted for popular instruction.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.Unfavour-  
able to the  
rise of  
original  
genius.

But the most injurious effect, from the exclusive or too long-continued study of the Latin literature, was its tendency to preclude the evolution of genius, and the formation of original thought.

It has been remarked, in the history of literature, that great excellence has been usually followed by decline. No second Augustan age is found to occur. A Virgil emerges, and, as if his genius cast on his countrymen an everlasting spell, no future Virgil appears—no second Homer, or Euripides—no succeeding Pindar, Horace, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Tacitus, or Cicero. The fact is remarkable; but it is to be accounted for, not by a deficiency in the birth of talent, but from its subsequent destruction by injudicious education.

It is in literature as in painting: if we study departed excellence too intently, we only imitate, we extinguish genius, and sink below our models. If we make ourselves but copyists, we become inferior to those we copy. The exclusive or continual contemplation of preceding merit, contracts our faculties within, and greatly within, its peculiar circle, and makes even that degree of excellence unattainable, which we admire and feed upon: we become mimics, instead of being competitors; mannerists instead of originals: we are enslaved by a despotism from which we ought to have revolted.

Whence arises this strange, but oft-experienced result? From the operation of the laws of habit. The peace and comfort and discipline of the world, depend upon our susceptibility to their influence; but this influence is often a tyranny that deteriorates. The length of application necessary to possess ourselves of the merit to which we devote our studies,

CHAP.  
II.REVIVAL  
OF LATIN  
LITERA-  
TURE  
AFTER THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.

tends to limit our progress, to chain our excursive-ness, and to mould our faculties and their produce into an involuntary and dependent imitation of the models on which our attention is so continuously exercised. If when the limbs are most flexible, we are made to walk perpetually in a certain posture, the attitude will be our gait for the rest of our lives. While our ancestors studied no authors but the Roman, the literary mind of England became romanized, and nothing more. No original genius appeared. Our literature was a debased recoinage of the Latin, as in Jeffry of Monmouth, Joseph of Exeter, John of Salisbury, Malmsbury, and the other writers, whose Latin compositions crowd the catalogues of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

If there be no originality, there can be no improvement. If there be no deviation from existing habits, there can be no progression. To be original, is to escape from intellectual bondage and sterility, and to acquire a possibility of being superior. Novelty is an avenue to greater excellence: the enterprise may be unproductive, but it has the chance of success. Originality is not indeed always useful; it may lead to error and vice, as well as to truth and virtue; or rather, as wisdom is more rare than folly, the eccentricities of the human mind will be oftener connected with mistake than with utility. But error leads ultimately to truth; and is the penalty which human weakness must pay to attain it. No false opinion can arise, but the vindictive feeling of existing habits is zealous to correct it. Providence allows licentiousness and despotism, prejudice and absurdity to conflict with each other, till they expire from their mutual wounds. Moderation then prevails from its

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

necessity. The judgment of society extracts from the opposing sentiments the good which they possess, and consigns the evil to oblivion. But the discussion puts the mind into activity, and the result carries human knowledge one step forward; the reason is roused to look beyond its stationary habits, and new perceptions of truth always follow new exertions and new prospects. It is true that in aiming to add new, original views to the human mind, more writers insert into it new errors, than new truths. Men are eager to dart from the known to the unknown; and to persuade themselves that they are the Columbuses who are destined to explore and to reveal what has been hidden to others. Hence new delusions and new mischiefs will multiply around us by those who fail; even as great discoveries are attained by the better reasoning or more fortunate inquirers. Yet still tho individuals are injured by what deludes, the general progress of society is advanced by the increasing spirit of investigation and improvement.

At the time of the Norman conquest, originality of mind, of reasoning and feeling, was become indispensable to human advancement; the mind was in chains and ignorance, and wanted both light and emancipation. By an admirable process, what was so much needed was successively attained.

But the Latin literature most usefully preceded and accompanied the new improvements. These indeed could not have been acquired without it; and when disclosed, were beneficially pursued, watched, directed, and disciplined by it. It would be absurd to forget or deny our first benefactors.



The great intellectual want, after the Norman conquest, was that of an original vernacular literature, which would interest and educate the general mind of the community; awaken its moral sympathies by narrative, fiction, and useful poetry; instruct it by intelligible pictures of life and manners; bring the natural feelings into activity; and guide the human judgment to just determinations, and due appreciations of probity, decorum, honour, and the family charities of life, and that would connect acquired knowledge with the existing world. It was the complaint of our great Alfred, that the learned Anglo-Saxons who had preceded him, would not translate the books they possessed, into their own language; and from this reason, when they died, they left the nation as ignorant as they found it<sup>71</sup>. The learned Anglo-Normans were as unsocial; they mastered their Latin treasures, but they never made them the property of the public. That public, therefore, continued in Egyptian darkness, although its cathedrals and monasteries were illuminated<sup>72</sup>. An attractive vernacular literature was the only vehicle of knowledge that the courtier, the lady, or the world at large, could comprehend. Popular instruction being thus wanted for popular improvement, vernacular composition, which all could understand, relish, study and imi-

CHAP.  
II.REVIVAL  
OF LATIN  
LITERA-  
TURE  
AFTER THE  
NORMAN  
CONQUEST.Vernacular  
literature  
wanted,  
for the  
national  
improve-  
ment.

<sup>71</sup> See Hist. Angl. Sax. v. 2.

<sup>72</sup> The same has been remarked of Germany, as Duclos quotes from J. Wablius, whose words I will add: "Accessit avaritia, sive ambitio monachorum ac sacerdotum, qui cum curam disciplinarum atque artium, pessimo eorum sæculorum fato, inter claustra sua compegissent, studio et industria difficultatem horroremque linguæ alebant, ut absterritis a studio nobilibus, ipsi soli in aulis principum, eruditionis præmia et honores venditarent." Mem. Ac. v. 26. p. 279.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

tate—in which the natural feelings could easily express themselves, and in which genius would find topics and modes of originality, which the scholastic trammels suppressed—was that species of literature, which was most essential to the evolution and the fertilization of the national mind. Poetry has the honour of having first produced it in England. The itinerant minstrels were the causing instruments, and a part of the lettered clergy the first effective agents, to introduce and diffuse it<sup>73</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> On the Anglo-Norman authors, who wrote in Latin, Tanner's *Bibliotheca Monastica*, which makes Leland its text, exhibits a copious catalogue, alphabetically arranged, and ample notices of their works. The works of Bale and Pitts, on our ancient authors, contain the earlier compilations. Dr. Henry's chapters, on the learning and the arts, are worth reading. For a more enlarged view of the literature of Europe during the middle ages, Brucker, Muratori, and Tiraboschi, are of great value. Landi's neat work, drawn from the latter, preserves the principal circumstances in an intelligent style. The *Italian Compendium*, by the abati L. Zenoni, presents Tiraboschi to us with much taste and judgment; but it has no references. Mr. Berrington's *History of the Literature of the Middle Ages*, may be also read with pleasure, though it wants a philosophical feeling. Guingene's *Histoire Litteraire d'Italie*, and Sismondi's *Works*, will amply reward perusal. The French literati are now publishing new works every year, on their ancient literature. Among these, MM. Roquefort, Renouard, Auguis, La Rue, and La Ravalliere, have recently distinguished themselves.

## C H A P. III.

*History of the Anglo-Norman Jongleurs and Minstrels.*

IN tracing the history of the vernacular poetry of England, it will be useful first to consider the earliest state of those men who began the cultivation of this delightful art.

CHAP.  
III.

In civilized ages, the poet, the musician, the singer and the actor, are distinct characters; in the ruder periods of nations, they have been usually united. The aoidoi and rapsodoi of ancient Greece, the bards of Wales, the harpers and gleemen of the Saxons, the northern scalds, and the citharœdi of the Romans, were itinerant performers, who combined the arts of poetry, music, singing and gesticulation<sup>1</sup>.

After the Norman conquest, the same class of men, with the same union of talents and performances, were frequent in England and Normandy, and long continued to be popular, under various denominations<sup>2</sup>. It is probable that as their numbers multiplied with the increasing population which favoured them, some division of these variously-qualified individuals into distinct classes gradually

<sup>1</sup> Cassiodorus mentions a citharœdus, "learned in his art, who could delight with his face and hands as well as by his voice." Var. l. 2. ep. 41. p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Their Latin names are various—most commonly, histriones, joculariores, scurræ, mimi. But John of Salisbury adds, saliares, balatrones, æmiliani, gladiatores, palestritæ, gignadii, præstigiatores, malefici. De nugis Curial. l. 1. c. 8.

## BOOK

## II.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

took place. The composer would be more rare than the performer, and the musician would become separated from the poet. These distinctions would be greater when part of their fraternities chose to exhibit as jesters and merry-andrews. In time, every means of popular excitement that could obtain gifts or good cheer, and could be, in any way, connected with minstrelsy, was, to its great abuse and degradation, successively connected with it, till the profession became disreputable by its mercenary immoralities.

In one of our earliest Anglo-Norman poems, we find them spoken of as *chantur*, *fableier*, *jangles*, and *menistre*; and their art is called *janglerie*<sup>3</sup>. This author, though a rhymers himself, yet being an ecclesiastic, he calls his itinerant brethren, “the antechrist, perverting the age by their merry jangles<sup>4</sup>.” He accuses them of getting the love of princes, and making them and prelates go astray<sup>5</sup>. He even classes these jangleors with liars, and declares that

<sup>3</sup> Sanson de Nanteuil, in his Rhymes on the Proverbs of Solomon, in the British Museum, Harl. N° 4388. censures those who

- - - - - aiment seculer  
de lecheries de moiller  
d’oir chantur et fableier—  
- - - - -  
et bevient vin de felonie  
d’oir fables et janglerie.

The MS. from the autograph in one page, “*Jacobus rex Angliæ*,” appears to have belonged to our James I.

<sup>4</sup> Come li menistre antecrist sunt  
Ki per jangleis le secle veintrunt  
de deu les partirunt anceis  
par lur facunde e lor jangleis.—Ib.

<sup>5</sup> Co reidit de home jangleor  
Ke de princes depart l’amur.

they will never acquire honour<sup>6</sup>, and that they wilfully sport with moral obligations and good sense<sup>7</sup>.

Another rhyming moralist, who has left us one of our ancient Anglo-Norman poems, contemplates them with an eye as intolerant, even while practising himself the most important branch of their art, and which their popular use must have contributed so much to improve, especially in its rimes and rhythm. This author, forgetting their intellectual relationship to himself, seems to associate them in his mind with living devils, and forbids us to make or to attend to their romauns and fables<sup>8</sup>. By the phrases with which he connects them, he afterwards puts their juggler as attempting enchantment, and resembling sorcery and negromancy<sup>9</sup>. He gives them various

CHAP.  
III.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
JONGLEURS  
AND MIN-  
STRELS.

Princes sunt evesques noté  
Et prelat d'eglise ordené—  
Jangleres heom les fait irrer.—Ib.

<sup>6</sup> Jangleres hom ne menteor  
Ne creistrunt ja a nul enor.—Ib.

<sup>7</sup> Raisun e dreit part ne pot plus  
li heom ki de jangler ad us  
Jugement ne pot plus garder  
Kar tot li tolt sen sor parler  
Dreit torne a tort par janglerie  
Et tort a dreit par felonie.—Ib.

<sup>8</sup> Wilham de Wadigtoun, in his Manuel de Peche, MS. Harl. Lib. N° 4657 & 337.

Pechur sunt ceus chatifs  
Bien le sachez a debles vifs  
Romauns fables e chanceurs  
Roteries e autres folurs  
fere ne oir a teus jurs  
Ne deit nule cum funt plusurs.

<sup>9</sup> En sorceres ne an sorcerie  
Gardez vous ke vous ne creez mie—



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

names: at one time, he speaks of luturs, and describes them as making lutes and motuns, and playing with swords<sup>10</sup>; at another time he calls them jogleours, menestrans, ribaus, and chuffurs; fools, to whom it was folly to be liberal<sup>11</sup>. His phrases to express their performances also vary; he sometimes calls it making minstralcie and noiser<sup>12</sup>. He notices other diversions connected with their mirth; but he condemns and proscribes them all<sup>13</sup>, especially if performed in churches or church-yards<sup>14</sup>.

In the free translation of this work, in 1303, by Robert of Brunne, we find a more liberal feeling

Cunter lur sorceries  
E menuement lur folies  
Coe ne serroit fors jangler—

Si vous unkes par folie  
Entre meistres de negromancie  
Ov feistis al deble facie  
Ov enchantement par folie  
Ov a gent de cele mester  
Ren donastes pur lur jangler.—Ib.

<sup>10</sup> Sachent pur veir les luturs  
Ky lutes funt a teus jours  
Motuns mectent ov espée pendent.—Ib.

<sup>11</sup> Si par foll argesce ren donastes  
A fous malement le emplaiastes  
Coe est a dire al jogleours  
Menestrans, ribaus ou chuffurs.—Ib.

<sup>12</sup> Sa menestralcie yloke feseit  
Cum en autre lus fere soleit—  
le menestral oi noiser.

<sup>13</sup> Muses e teles musardies  
Trepes, daunces, e teles folies—  
Si funt certes li menestral.—Ib.

<sup>14</sup> Karoles ne lutes ne deit nul fere  
En seint eglise ky me vont crere  
Kar en cimiterie karoler  
Et outrage grant ou luter.—Ib.

implied. He condemns the singing and dancing ; but it is when practised in church-yards, or on holy days<sup>15</sup> : it is the accompanying the jogelours hasadoure or roture to the tavern, the devil's knife, which he blames<sup>16</sup>. In mentioning minstrels, he takes an opportunity of noticing how much the famous bishop Grostête loved to hear the harp ; that night and days he had solace of notes and lays ; and that he taught, that the virtue of the harp was such as to destroy even the power of Satan<sup>17</sup>. These alterations show, that the taste of the age had learnt to estimate poetry and music more justly, and to discriminate

CHAP.  
III.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
JONGLEURS  
AND MIN-  
STRELS.

<sup>15</sup> Roberd de Brunne dates his " English Ryme" in 1303.

Gyf you make karol or play  
You halewyst not thyn halyday—

- - - - -

Karolles, wrastlynges or somour games  
Whosoever haunteth any swyche shames  
Yn cherche other yn cherchgerd—

MS. Harl. N<sup>o</sup> 1701.

<sup>16</sup> Gyf thou eithyr wyth jogeloure  
With hasadoure or wyth roture  
hauntyst taverne or were to any pere  
to play at the ches or at the tablere—  
'Taverne ys the devylys knife  
Hyt sleth the o soule or lyfe.—Ib.

<sup>17</sup> He loved much to here the harpe  
for mannys wytte hyt makyth sharpe  
Neyr hys chaumbre besyde hys stody  
His harpers chaumbre was fast therby  
Many tymes be nygtys and dayys  
He had solace of notes and layys  
One asked hym onys resun why  
He hadde delyte yn mynstralsy  
He answered hym on thys manere  
Why he helde the harper so dere  
The vertu of the harpe thurgh skylle and rygt  
Wyl destroye the fendes mygt.—Ib.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

between their merit and the consequences of their abuse.

Our old satirist, who assumes the name of Piers Plouhman, is not so charitable. He treats with visible contempt the “japers and juglers, and janglers of gests.” He describes them as haunters of taverns and common ale-houses, amusing the lower classes with “myrth of mynstrelsy and losels tales.” He brands them as tutors “of idleness, and the devil’s diseours,” who make their hearers, “for love of tales, in taverns to drink.” He angrily declares, that “he is worse than Judas, that giveth a japer silver<sup>18</sup>.”

The same venerable author gives us full information of the “mynstrales” in his day. They are noticed as playing on the tabret, the trumpet, the fiddle, the pipe, and the harp; as singing with the giterne, dancing, leaping, and telling fair gestes<sup>19</sup>. They knew how to make mirth. They invented foul fantasies<sup>20</sup>, played the fool, told lies, and made men laugh<sup>21</sup>. They were rewarded with robes and furred gowns, mantles and money<sup>22</sup>. The love of lords

<sup>18</sup> See the Visions of Piers Plouhman.

<sup>19</sup> Ich can nat tabre ne trompe ne telle faire gestes—  
ne fithelyn, at festes ne harpen;  
Japen ne jagelyn, ne gentelliche pipe;  
nother sailen ne sautrien ne singe with the giterne.—Ib. p. 253.

<sup>20</sup> And sommes murthe to make as mynstrals conneth,  
That wollen neyther swynke ne swete bote swery grete othes,  
And fynde up foul fantesyes and foles hem maken,  
And haven witte at wyll to worche yf they wold.—Ib. p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> Thuse thre manere mynstrales maken a man to lauке  
In hus deth.—Ib.

<sup>22</sup> Ich am a mynstrale—  
And fewe robes ich fange other forrede gounes,  
Wolde ich lye and do men lauке, thenne lachen ich sholde  
Mantels other moneye among lords minstrales.—Ib. 253.

and ladies presented them with gifts and gold<sup>23</sup>. Yet the satirist unsparingly declares, that he who gave to them, sacrificed to devils<sup>24</sup>.

CHAP.  
III.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
JONGLEURS  
AND MIN-  
STRELS.

It seems clear, from the accounts transmitted to us concerning them, that they were not undeservedly reprehended. Their obscene practices, and the profligate effect of their tales, are mentioned by John of Salisbury<sup>25</sup>; and as some of their contes have come down to us, we can have no difficulty in perceiving, that while they were popular, the manners of society must have been gross and immoral. Hence, although the more dissolute of the ecclesiastical body encouraged and rewarded them<sup>26</sup>, the sounder part of society pursued them with prohibitions and invectives, till they were at last driven from the more respectable walks of life to the lower orders. Their irregularities became then more rude and offensive, till their order expired amid the general contempt of an improving nation.

They were however once so esteemed, that we read both of the king's minstrels and the queen's

<sup>22</sup> And alle manere mynstrales men wot wel the sothe—  
For the lordes love and ladies that thei with lengen—  
Gyven hem gyftes and gold.—Piers Plouhman, 154.

<sup>24</sup> Qui histrionibus dat, demonibus sacrificat.—Ib.

<sup>25</sup> “Adeo error invaluit, ut a præclaris domibus non arceantur, etiam illi qui obscænis partibus corporis, oculis omnium, eam ingerunt turpidinem quam erubescat videre vel cynicus.”—De nug. Cur. l. 1. c. 8.

<sup>26</sup> We have a remarkable instance of this, cited by M. Duclos in his *Memoire sur les jeux sceniques*. Hist. Ac. Inst. t. 26. p. 363. The Statutes of the count of Tholouse in 1233, state, that the monks at certain seasons of the year *sold* their wine *within* their monastery and for a small sum admitted or introduced personas turpes, inhonestas, viz. joculatores, histriones, talorum lusores, et publicas meretrices, quod arctius prohibemus. See Du Chesne, v. 5. p. 819.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

minstrels<sup>27</sup>, and they had the Dignity among their fraternity called the King of the Minstrels<sup>28</sup>. But their success increased their depreciation; for it excited others to pursue the casual pleasures of a vagrant life under the pretence of minstrelsy—a practice that became so mischievous, as to occasion an order from Edward II. that none should resort to the mansions of the prelates, earls, and barons, unless they were actually minstrels<sup>29</sup>.

The minstrels usually travelled in companies, singing every variety of lays, practising on all instruments of sound that were then known<sup>30</sup>; and exerting

<sup>27</sup> P. Plouhman says—

Clerkus and knyghtes wolcometh kynges mynstrales

For love of here lordes lithen hem at feastes.

In the reign of Edward I. we find Guillos de Psalteron called a minstrel of the queen. Rot. Gard. p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> He is mentioned in the 5 Edward I. in the MS. Cott. Vesp. c. 16.

<sup>29</sup> See Edward's order, dated 1315, printed by Hearne, in his Leland Collect. vol. 6. p. 36. There number is implied by this sentence:—"And of these minstrels that there come none except it be three or four minstrels of the honor at the most in one day, unlesse he be desired of the lord of the house."—The penalties for offending were, "at the firste tyme he to lose his minstrelsie, and at the second tyme to forswear his craft."

<sup>30</sup> Wace describes them at Arthur's banquet in some detail:

Mult ost a la cort juleors,

Chanteors et rumentours.

Mult poissez oir chancons

Rotuenges, et voialx sons.

Vileors, lais et notez,

Lais de vieles, laiz de rotez;

Lais de harpez, laiz de fietalz,

Lires, tempes, et chalemealx;

Symphoniez, psalterions;

Monacors, des cymbes, chorons;



all the methods that fancy, frolic, and depravity had invented to excite the attention, interest the feelings, and stimulate the liberality of the different classes of society<sup>31</sup>. The traits already alluded to, are noticed in many ancient authors. We find them sometimes in a bishop's house, amusing him in his private life, during his hours of repast, by playing on instruments of music after he had said his grace<sup>32</sup>; or they were admitted after the tables were removed, and even in the presence of majesty, to furnish their addition to the stately entertainment<sup>33</sup>. Sometimes relating tales,

Assez i ot tregetours,

Joierrresses et joicors.—Brut. MS.

See Mr. Ellis' comments on this passage, 1 Spec. Poet. p. 48.

<sup>31</sup> On the last stage of the minstrels, see the latter part of Mr. Ritson's Dissert. on Romance and Minstrelsy, prefixed to his Metrical Romances, vol. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Ly eveske ses mains laveit,

E al manger se aturneit.

Après coe k'il fu assis,

E pain esteit devant ly mis,

Kant la benison dust doner,

Le Menestral oi noiser.—Wad. Man. MS.

Chaucer says,

At every course came loude minstralcie. p. 28.

<sup>33</sup> Quand les tables ostees furent,

Cil juleur en pies esturent.

Sont vielles et harpes prises,

Chansons, sons, lais, vers et reprises :

Et de geste chanté nos ont.—

Tournam. d'Antech. Fauchet, p. 72.

So Chaucer describes them :

And so befell that after the third course

While that this king sit thus in his noblay,

Hearkening his minstrals her things play,

Before him at his boord deliciously. p. 23.

Thus the Roman d'Alexandre,

Quand li rois ot mangie s'apella Helinand

Pour li esbanoier comanda que il chant.—Du Cange Min.

pathetic or ludicrous ; sometimes diffusing flatteries on the actions of the great ; they were every where welcome <sup>34</sup>. The moralist wished their melodies to be connected with sacred subjects <sup>35</sup>. But their harvest was either more plentiful or more grateful from meaner practices. Hence they vaulted over ropes on horseback, like our present tumblers <sup>36</sup> ; they played with the pendent sword <sup>37</sup> ; they taught animals to perform various tricks ; and they imitated the notes of birds <sup>38</sup>. They practised all the arts of buffoonery, which were calculated to attract to them money, dresses, or feasting <sup>39</sup>.

Sometimes they are described as attending the courts of princes in bodies, and obtaining gifts of

<sup>34</sup> Chaucer says,

And jestours that tellen tales  
Both of wepyng and of game.—

The minister of Richard I. even hired them to sing his praises in the streets. Hoved.

<sup>35</sup> Brunne allows us to hear minstrelsy on religious themes :

Yn harpe, yn thabour, and symphangle,  
Wurschepe God yn troumpes and sautre,  
Yn cordys, an organes and bellys ryngyng,  
Yn al these wurschepe ge hevenes kyng.  
Gyf ge do thus, Y sey hardly,  
We mow here gour mynstralsy.—Brunne MS.

<sup>36</sup> Albericus, in 1237, among the performances of the minstrels, mentions that one, in equo super chordam in aëre saltavit.

Du Cange, voc. Min.

<sup>37</sup> See before, note 10. So Wace says that Taillifer threw up his sword. MS.

<sup>38</sup> King Alphonso mentions jongleurs, qui font sauter des singes, des boucs ou des chiens ; qui contrefont les oiseaux. Hist. Troub. 2. p. 366.

<sup>39</sup> The worthy Strutt has collected many particulars on the ancient gleemen minstrels, &c. and given some curious plates of them, in his Sports and Pastimes, p. 158—188.

gold and silver, horses, and costly garments<sup>40</sup>. Their merry and licentious life, and the reputation and patronage they enjoyed, often attracted many, and at times even some of the superior ranks, to join their society<sup>41</sup>.

In some of the Troubadours we have a full account of the talents that were expected from the reputable jongleurs of their fraternities<sup>42</sup>. From one of them

CHAP.  
III.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
JONGLEUR  
AND MIN-  
STRELS.

<sup>40</sup> Rigordus mentions, with great indignation, that he had seen princes give vestments most skilfully embroidered with various devices of flowers, which had cost 20 or 30 marks of silver, to these minstrels, whom he very sincerely calls the Devil's ministers. *De Gest. Phil.* p. 178.

<sup>41</sup> In one of the fableaux noticed by Fauchet, a Vavasor's wife is introduced as very earnestly dissuading him from becoming ministrier. p. 75.—Pierre d' Auvergne mentions a knight who had become jongleur, and says, "Cursed be he that gives him green garments." 2 *Troub.* 22.—Vidal introduces a jongleur, describing himself as having resolved to embrace their profession, from the benefits conferred on them by the princes he mentions. *Hist. de Troub.* vol. 2. p. 285.—The Troubadours were often noble: The earliest known was count of Poitou—Garin was a chevalier—Pons de Capdueil a riche baron—Geoffroi Rudel a prince. *Troub.* pp. 39. 43. 85.

<sup>42</sup> Giraud de Cabreira, in his instructions to his jongleur, reproaches him for playing badly on the violin, and singing indifferently—for his inability to dance or jump like the jongleurs of Gascony—for giving them only dull pieces, and not those of the celebrated Troubadours—and for being ignorant of the histories and tales with which the jongleurs amused the great. 2 *Hist. Troub.* 496.—Giraud de Calanson tells the jongleur he is instructing, "Sache bien trouver et bien rimer, bien parler, bien proposer un jeu parti! Sache jouer du tambour et des cimballes, et faire retentir la symphonie. Sache jeter et retenir de petites pommes avec des couteaux, imiter le chant des oiseaux, faire des tours avec des corbeilles, faire attaques des chateaux, faire sauter au travers de quatre cerceaux: jouer de la citale et de la mandore, manier la manicarde et la guitare; garnir la roue avec dix sept cordes; ouer de la harpe et bien accorder la gigue pour egayer l'air du

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

we learn, that their patrons had become critical on their merits, and that while excellence was rewarded with peculiar liberality, inferior pretensions were neglected<sup>43</sup>. Before the thirteenth century closed, their general popularity began to lessen. "Is a song obscure and highly valuable, few understand it; is it perspicuous, it is not valued. The profession is treated as a folly; and I cannot think it otherwise, when I see it so little honoured<sup>44</sup>." They sometimes severely satirized each other<sup>45</sup>. While the mass of society was ignorant, they were at the head of its intellectual cultivation, and assisted to educate their countrymen; as the general mind improved, their defects and vices became more visible and more repulsive. Mental occupation of a superior order improved the leisure of the great and studious. The minstrel became more degenerate as he was less valued, until at last he was proscribed as a useless and corrupting vagabond.

Attempts were made to rouse them to aim at moral utility<sup>46</sup>—the object most worthy of a thinking being,

psalterion. Jongleur tu feras preparer neuf instrumens de dix cordes. Si tu apprends a en bien jour ils fourniront a tous tes besoins." 2 Hist. Troub. 32.

<sup>43</sup> Giraud de Calanson, p. 33.

<sup>44</sup> Giorgi, a Troubadour in 1270, in one of his Sirventes, p. 361. He exclaims, "Maudit soit celui qui m'apprit l'art des vers." Ib.

<sup>45</sup> See Pierre d'Auvergne's Sirvente against 12 Troubadours. 2 Hist. Troub. 22—25. Some one returned him the compliment: "Pierre d'Auvergne sings like a frog in a marsh, and yet goes about boasting that he has no equal. He ought to have some one to explain his verses, for no one can understand them."—Ib. 26.

<sup>46</sup> See Giraud Riquier's Supplication au Roi de Castile au nom des Jongleurs, 2 Hist. Troub. 357; and the king Alphonso's interesting answer, p. 364—372.

compatible with the finest taste and the truest pleasures, and giving to them a meaning and a sanction which both hallow and redouble them ; but the minstrel and the jongleur were not found to be improvable beings, and therefore the world hailed and encouraged the cultivation of their most intellectual qualities by another order of men, whom we next proceed to notice, and who have created or revived for modern society, that species of composition which seems to be the most connected with refinement of taste, true sensibility, elegant recreation, and high cultivation of mind and manners. Such are the effects of genuine poetry. It civilized Greece—it has polished Europe—it may yet, from the lyre of some future Shakspeare or Milton, moralize the world. But to produce this noble effect, it must itself be moral. And why should genius at any time forget, that the poetry which elegant taste, virtuous feeling, and enlightened reason, must condemn, and which for the improvement and happiness of mankind must be exploded, is one of the worst enemies of human society ; and the surest, though insidious, destroyer of national greatness, by the depravation of the individual minds whose soundness, energy and rectitude, are wanted to uphold it <sup>47</sup> ?

<sup>47</sup> Mr. Warton has collected several instances of the payments made to minstrels for their performances on the chief Saint days and other festivals at the Augustine Priory of Biceter, in Oxfordshire, in 1431 ; at Mactoke, in Warwickshire, during Henry VI. ; and at Winchester College, between 1464 & 1484. Vol. 1, p. 93-5.



## C H A P. IV.

*History of the Anglo-Norman Vernacular Poetry.*

BOOK II. THE origin of vernacular poetry in Europe, must be ascribed to its itinerant minstrels. Among their diversified companies, which in their various classes comprised all the amusive powers, popular feelings, and cultivated talent of the day, some must have been capable of better things than mechanical repetitions of favourite airs or fantastic mummery. The dull or vulgar jongleurs may have been but jesters, mountebanks or fiddlers; but they who could compose songs and satires, and “tell faire gestes and tales both of weeping and of game,” must have cultivated the talents of invention and composition. At first indeed the composer sang and played, and the songster composed; but as the art improved, the musician became separated from the poet.

As they aimed to please, and lived by pleasing, their topics were always the most popular of the day. In the barbarous ages of eternal battle, war and rapine were their themes<sup>1</sup>. When religion became cultivated, the praises of the saints were added<sup>2</sup>. Love-songs, tales of all sorts, legends, lies, histories,

<sup>1</sup> As the songs of the Northern scalds, so often quoted by Snorre; and the poems of Aneurin, Llywarch Hen, Meilyr, Gwalchmai, and Cynddelw, printed in the *Welch Archæology*, vol. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ord. Vit. mentions, of a St. William, that *vulgo canitur a jocularibus de illo cantilena*, p. 598.

and bacchanalian airs, all took their turn<sup>3</sup>. Their subjects were adapted to their company; and as the clergy were as fond of their performances as the barons, and the monastery had as good cheer and as rich presents to give as the castle, the taste and patronage of the religious were at times as eagerly consulted and obeyed as that of their secular neighbours. Hence all sorts of composition became familiar to the versifying wanderers—the grave as well as the gay; the religious as well as the risible; the warlike, the jovial, and the amatorial.

But as all the public amusements of those days beyond the warlike pastimes, centered in these vagrants, their popularity alarmed the infant moral sense of society, beginning to civilize, to a perception of their dissolute habits and indecent exhibitions. Profiting more by inflaming the worst passions of man, than by addressing his better feelings, their performances were so licentious and so seductive, as to rouse the hostility of the wiser part of the nation<sup>4</sup>. Councils issued decree after decree, to prohibit the ecclesiastics

CHAP.  
IV.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

Their cor-  
ruptions

<sup>3</sup> See Wace's account of the minstrels' songs at the court of Arthur, cited before, p. 433. He adds,

Le uns desoient contes et fables

Auquant demandoient dez et tables.—Ellis, p. 49.

Denis Pyramis says,

Lirey li prince e li courtur

Cunt, Barun, e Vavasur,

Ayment cuntres, chanceurs e fables

E bon diz qui sunt delitables.

MS. Cott. Lib. Domit. A. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Even Charlemagne, who loved the ancient songs of his countrymen, yet brands these popular vagrants as viles personæ, who ought not to have the right of accusing—as infamiæ maculis aspersi; id est, Histriones, ac turpitudinibus subjectæ personæ. Capit. Baluz. t. 1. col. 229.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

from frequenting their society<sup>5</sup>; and such were their attractions, that it was even found necessary to forbid priests and monks from practising, not only their art, but its most obnoxious exertions<sup>6</sup>. The theological writers also pursued them with invectives<sup>7</sup>. But laws and sermons are feeble, while the taste is gross, and the manners are corrupt. The pleasing arts and ribaldry of the minstrels won the ear, delighted the leisure, and seduced even the imitation of the great. Kings, barons, prelates, and ladies, invited, rewarded, and emulated them<sup>8</sup>. The minstrels in their turn endeavoured to revenge themselves on the clergy, who discountenanced them; and contes devots abounded, satirizing the vices, and ridiculing the persons, the tenets and the customs, of the eccle-

<sup>5</sup> See the councils quoted in the Memoire of Duclos, p. 359.

<sup>6</sup> “ We absolutely forbid the ministers of the altar, and monks, *turpis verbi vel facti joculatorem esse*—Clericos scurriles et verbis turpibus jocularis ab officio detrahendos. Bal. Capit. t. 1. col. 1202, 1207.

<sup>7</sup> Thus Agobard calls them *turpissimos* que et vanissimos joculatores. De Dup. Eccl. ap. Du Clos. p. 360. M. Caylus confesses, in his Memoire on the Fabliaux, that he cannot excuse nor render public “ l’obscurité de leurs contes.” Mem. Ac. Inscr. t. 34. p. 116.

<sup>8</sup> Denis Pyramis begins his life of king Edmund with a palinodia on his former conduct in imitating these minstrel lays—

Mult ay use cum pechere  
Ma vie en trop fole maniere;  
E trop ay use ma vie  
En peche e en folie.  
Kant courte hautey of les curteis.  
Si fesei les servienteis,  
Chanceurs ettes rymes saluz  
Entre les drues e les druz  
Mult me penay de teles vers fere.

MS. Domit. A 11.

siastical body<sup>9</sup>. This mutual exposition of each others faults, increased the moral criticism of society on both.

But it is impossible to suspend the charms of narrative fiction, or to destroy the magical effects of language arranged musically into rhythm. The verbal melody arising from rime and metre, has in all its forms of collocation, and in every country, been found to delight the mind as irresistibly, as the chords and symphonies of the harp, the viol, and the lute, have gratified the ear.

The perception of this effect in themselves, and the observation of its influence over others, led some of the clergy to feel that the popularity of poesy was not to be extinguished by denunciatory ordinances or angry censures<sup>10</sup>; a wiser plan was conceived, that of combining the delight with utility, the amusement with innocence. Taught by a happy taste, they saw at last the possibility of separating the poet from the minstrel, as well as from the musician—of cultivating that art in the study and in the cloister, which was so popular in the festive hall and in the streets, and of connecting it with better subjects than the adulations and topics that pleased at the banquet,

CHAP.  
IV.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

induce  
the clergy  
to write  
vernacular  
poetry.

<sup>9</sup> Some of these Le Grand has published, which sufficiently show both the wit and malice of the lay fableur.

<sup>10</sup> Denis Pyramis confesses the attraction of these poetical compositions :

E les vers sunt mult amez  
E en ces riches curtes loez ;—  
E si en est ele mult loée,  
E la ryme par tut amée  
Kar mult l'ayment, si lunt mult cher,  
Cunt, barun e chivaler.—MS. Ib.

BOOK II. or the licentiousness and buffoonery that excited and injured the populace <sup>11</sup>.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

We cannot now distinguish the individual who began this revolution in literary composition and public taste. It required much courage in the first adventurers. The study of the Roman classics had made Latin versification such a prevailing passion, that the first clerk who wrote native rimes must have endured great contempt for his illiterate habit, and perhaps some obloquy for imitating the lays of the discredited minstrel.

The Anglo-Saxon clergy had favoured the custom; and our Alfred, in his metrical translations of the poetry of Boethius, gave a noble example of its practicability and merit <sup>12</sup>. But the literature of the Anglo-Saxons perishing from their sensuality, their efforts were forgotten in the general contempt, of their conquerors, both for their manners and language.

In the  
reign of  
Henry I.

It was among the Anglo-Norman clergy, and from the patronage of the Anglo-Norman ladies, that our first national poetry, distinct from minstrel recitation, arose. The reign of our Henry I. was the æra of its appearance, and either England or Normandy its birth-place. His first queen, Mathilda, was fond of

<sup>11</sup> With this motive Denis Pyramis wrote, and from this motive claims the attention of the great:

Rei dunt prince e empereur,  
Cunt, barun, e vavasur  
Deuvent bien a ceste œuvre entendre,  
Kar bon ensample il purrunt prendre.—MS. Ib.

<sup>12</sup> See Hist. Ang. Sax. on Aldhelm's songs; on the Saxon Judith; on Cedmon, and on Alfred's poetry.



CHAP.  
IV.ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

poems, made not by minstrels, but by scholars<sup>13</sup>; and as it is impossible to suspect her of knowing Latin, they must have been written in the language of her husband and his court, which she understood, the Anglo-Norman. That this vernacular poetry was cultivated in Henry's court, we have the most decisive evidence, from a specimen of it yet existing, our earliest, which is addressed to his second queen, Adeliza<sup>14</sup>. Thus we may infer, that Henry's fondness for letters excited his queens to cultivate a literary taste; and that the impossibility of their having it but from compositions which they could understand, induced the clergy to apply themselves to vernacular poetry. The royal patronage and necessities, and the taste of the female sex, raised poetry from the pollutions of the minstrel, who sang to live, and therefore sang as the gross taste of a gross vulgar required, to the cultivation of studious men, whose taste the Latin literature had refined, whose memory its recorded facts had stored, whose emulation was kindled by its ancient reputation, and who sought for lettered fame by respectable composition.

Vernacular poetry once esteemed in the higher circles of life, could not fail to be generally attractive<sup>15</sup>. The human heart loves virtue, though it may

Popularity  
of their  
works.

<sup>13</sup> From the account of Malmsbury, of her patronage, these clerical poets seem to have been numerous: *Inde liberalitate ipsius per orbem sata, turmatim huc adventabant scholastici cum cantibus, tum versibus famosi, felicem que putabant, qui carminis novitate aures mulceret dominæ.* Hist. p. 164.

<sup>14</sup> See further, note 25.

<sup>15</sup> Denis Pyramis, after mentioning the roman of Parthenope,  
Cil ki Partonope trova  
e ki les vers fist e ryma—

and Marie's lays,

E Dame Marie autrefi  
Ki en ryme fist e basti—

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

faulter in practising it. The mind tends to good taste and judgment, though it may be withheld, by opposing circumstances, from acquiring them. Hence the clerical versifier became more encouraged than the minstrel, by the intellectual and the respectable. Even they who read the immoral composition, cannot but despise its author. Though men may practise vice, no man has respected the vicious. Therefore as soon as society found presented to its option, poetry more useful and more creditable than the licentious songs of the minstrels, the improved taste of the nation liberally encouraged it. The new poetry found ample patronage, and the patronage multiplied both the new rimers and their works<sup>16</sup>. Wace, a canon of Bayeux,

again mentions the popularity of this vernacular poetry. He says of counts, barons and knights,

e si en ayment mult l'escrit,  
e lire le funt, si unt delit ;  
e si les funt sovent retraire.

So of ladies,

Les lays soleient as dames plere ;  
De joye les oyent e degre,  
Quil sunt sulun lur volente.—MS. Ib.

<sup>16</sup> The clerical poets took high ground: they declared their works to be essential to the formation of reputable character. Thus Beneit, in his rimed chronicle of Normandy :

Oir, veeir, aprendre, faire  
Retenir, ourer e retraire,  
Senz ceo ne puet de nul eage,  
Nuls estre pruz, vaillant, ne sage ;  
Tels sunt afaitée e curteis ;  
E maistre des arz e des leis.  
Si ne fust buens enseignement  
Doctrine oirs retenement,  
Qui fussent sans discretion,  
Vilain, senz sen e sanz raison.

CHAP.  
IV.ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

and one of the most prolific rimers that ever practised the art, states expressly, that his works were composed for the "rich gentry who had rents and money<sup>17</sup>." He prudently reminds the great, that unless "par clerc" their actions were recorded, their celebrity could have no duration<sup>18</sup>; and he takes care to inform them, that they who wrote "gestes and histories" had always been highly honoured and beloved<sup>19</sup>, and that barons and noble ladies had often given handsome presents, to have their names commemorated<sup>20</sup>. The clergy thus aiming at the remuneration for which the minstrels sang, we shall not be surprised that they also sometimes took their subjects from the songs of the itinerant jongleurs,

Therefore He

—al sovereign e al meillur  
Escrif, translat, truis e rimei.

MS. Harl. N° 1717.

- <sup>17</sup> Jeo parout a la riche gent,  
Ki unt les rentes a le argent,  
Kar pur eus sunt li livre fait;  
E bon dit fait, e bien retrait.

MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

- <sup>18</sup> Bien entend conuis e sai  
Que tuit murrunt, e clerc, e lai;  
E que mult ad curte decree,  
En pres la mort lur renumee;  
Si par clerc ne est mis en livre,  
Ne poet par el dureement vivre.—MS. Ib.

- <sup>19</sup> Mult soelent estre onuré,  
E mult preise, e mult amé;  
Cil ki les gestes escriviaient,  
E ki les estoires treiteient.—MS. Ib.

- <sup>20</sup> Suvent aveient des barruns,  
E des nobles dames beaus duns,  
Pur mettre lur nuns en estoire,  
Que tuz tens mais fust de eus memoire.—MS. Ib.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

and revived them in a superior style. This fact is avowed in the preface to one of the Romans on Charlemagne<sup>21</sup>; and also in the Roman du Florimont<sup>22</sup>. The consequence of the clergy making these compositions was, that narrative poetry, or, what was believed to be so, and written as such, became soon a respectable, a highly valued and an improving art, operating powerfully in augmenting the intellectual cultivation of the people.

<sup>21</sup> One of the romans on Charlemagne, in rhyme, Brit. Museum, Bib. Reg. 15. E 6. explicitly states, That a Clerc had composed and revived it from a chançon of a jongleur—

Or entendez seigneurs, que dieu vous benie,  
Le glorieulx du ciel, le filz sainte Marie,  
Une chancon de moult grant seigneurie  
Jugleurs la chantent e ne la scevent mie  
Moult a este perdue picca ne fu ouye  
Ung Clerc la recouvret que Jhu Crist benye  
Les vers en a escrips, tout la restablie,  
Savez on les trouva dedens une abbaye.—MS.

<sup>22</sup> This was written by Aymes de Florimont. He says he has said it as he found it written, or as he took it from good Trouveurs :

Dou roy Florimont vous ai dit  
Ce que jeu ai trouvé escript ;  
Or pri a ceuz qui oi lont  
E as bons trouveurs qui sont.

MS. Harl. N° 3983.

That the minstrels had composed romans on the subjects which the clerical rimers so prodigiously expanded, the Chronicon du Guesclin states—

Qui veut avoir renom des bons et des vaillons,  
Il doit aler souvent a la pluie et au champs,  
Et estre en la bataille, ainsy que fu Rollans ;  
Les quatre fils Haimon et Charlon li plus grans ;  
Li dus Lions de Bourges, et Guion de Connans,  
Perceval li Gallois, Lancelot et Tristans,  
Alixandres, Artus, Godefroy li sachans,  
De quoy *cils menestriers font les nobles romans.*

Du Cange, voc. Minist.

The most ancient specimens of the vernacular poetry of the Anglo-Norman clerks, are the two poems by Phillippe du Than, which may be placed about 1120. They contain nearly 1800 lines, rimed in the middle<sup>23</sup>. His first, intitled 'De Creaturis,' he sent to his uncle, the chaplain of the seneschal of Henry I. for his correction<sup>24</sup>. Besides its rimes, there is a rhythm in the cadence of his lines, which shows the infant state of the French héroic verse. It treats on the days of the week; on the months; on the signs of the zodiac; at some length on the moon; and on the ecclesiastic periods of the year; from most of which he draws a fanciful allegorical signification. His second he names 'Bestiarius,' and addresses it to the 'mult bele femme,' the queen Aliz<sup>25</sup>, the second wife of Henry I. Its subjects are, beasts, birds, and precious stones. The first are subjected to us, and are therefore symbols of obedience, and consequently denote our childhood; the second fly naturally into the air, and thus designate men who meditate heavenly things; the last are of themselves

CHAP.  
IV.ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.Philip  
du Than's  
poems.

<sup>23</sup> MS. Cotton Library, Nero A. 5.—This and some other of the Anglo-Norman poets remained unnoticed in the British Museum, till the Abbe de la Rue saw and described them. See his papers, published by the Antiquarian Society, in the *Archæologia*, vols. xii. & xiii.

<sup>24</sup> Philippe du Thaun ad fait une raisun.

A sun uncle l'enveiet, que amender la deiet.

Si rien iad mesdit ne en fait ne en escrit.

A unfrei de Thaun, le chapelain Yhun,

E seneschal du rei icho vus de par mei.—MS. Nero.

<sup>25</sup> Philippe du Thaun en franceise raisun,

Ad estrait bestiare un livre de grammaire.

Pur louur d'une geme ki mult est bele femme.

Aliz est numée, reine est corunée.

Reine est d'engleterre, sa ame nait ja guere.—MS. Ib.



BOOK  
II.  
LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

permanent and unchangeable, and such will be the ineffable Deity to us when we hymn in his presence, and amid the glory of his assembled saints.

In this he quotes several times 'Phisiologus'<sup>26</sup>, and at others, a work called *Bestiarium*<sup>27</sup>; another which he named *Lapidaire*<sup>28</sup> and *Isidorus*<sup>29</sup>. These works are all still in existence.

The *Bestiaire* is a Latin work remaining still in MS. which I have not yet seen<sup>30</sup>. But the *Phisiologus* is connected with some other subjects of curious inquiry, and therefore demands a particular notice.

It is the performance of one Theobald, of whom, all that we know is from the titles prefixed to the different MSS. of the work<sup>31</sup>. In one in the British Museum<sup>32</sup>,

<sup>26</sup> Thus, 'Phisiologus del Egle dit plus.'—MS. p. 67.

'Et Phisiologus dit que Caladrius.—p. 68.

and in other places, to which I do not find corresponding ones in Theobald; as on the 'Fenix,' p. 70, and 'Cocodrill,' p. 50.

<sup>27</sup> 'Delui dit Bestiaire, chose que mult est maire.'—MS. p. 70.

'En un livre dit du grammaire, que nous apelum Bestiaire'.

MS. p. 80.

<sup>28</sup> On the precious stones, he thus begins;

Ke plus volt savoir de ces pierres, lur vertuz et lur maneres;  
Si all lire de *Lapidaire* que est escrit du grammaire.

MS. p. 80.

<sup>29</sup> As on the dove,

'Uns colums est ceo dit Ysidre en sun escrit.'—p. 72.

He also cites Solomon on the ant;

'I ceo de Salemun del furmie par raisun;'—p. 52.

and in other places. In his first poem, he quotes Johannes de Garlandia, Hilperic, Turkill and Nambroet. La Rue, Arch. v. 12. p. 302.

<sup>30</sup> Mr. La Rue mentions, that Mr. Douce has a MS. copy of it in Latin.

<sup>31</sup> Fabricius in his Bib. Med. Lat. notices him only to say, that his age was uncertain.

<sup>32</sup> Harleian MS. N° 3093. See note 38.

he ends with naming himself 'Tebaldi.' They usually style him 'Theobaldi Episcopi,' but the Harleian MS. adds his country, 'Italicô.' It has been found in MSS. of so early a date as the eighth and ninth centuries<sup>33</sup>; but it does not now exist merely in MS. It was very early printed<sup>34</sup>. It is written on twelve animals; the lion, the eagle, the serpent, the ant, the fox, stag, spider, whale, syren, elephant, turtle and panther<sup>35</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

<sup>33</sup> Roquefort mentions, that Simner in his catalogue of the MSS. of the Biblioth. Bernensis, has inserted a MS. of the eighth century, intituled, 'Liber Fisiolo Theobaldi expositio de natura animalium, vel avium seu Bestiarum;' and another as a MS. of the ninth century, intituled 'Physiologus.' Roquef. etat. p. 283.

<sup>34</sup> Neither Mr. Simner nor Mr. Roquefort seem to have known that this work has been printed; but the copy which I have seen, expresses in its colophon, that it was printed at Cologne by Henry Quentell, who also published the 'Altum Doctrinale of Alanus.' No date is appended; but this ancient printer appears by other works to have lived soon after the discovery of the art.

<sup>35</sup> It is intituled 'Phisiologus Theobaldi Episcopi de naturis duodecim animalium.' It is printed with an ancient Latin commentary, which thus introduces it: 'This book has four causes of knowledge; the material, the formal, the efficient and the final. The material, or subject, is the nature of the twelve animals. The formal is twofold; the form of the treatise and the form of treating it: the first consists in its division and distinction; the second is the mode of doing it, which is metrical. The efficient cause was Master Theobald, doctor and bishop, who has composed it in simple words. The final cause is its utility. By this we may learn to love the virtues, to avoid the vices, and to attach ourselves to good manners. The cardinal virtues are prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude. The vices to be avoided are pride, avarice, gluttony, luxury, and others, which are denoted by the animals. Another utility is, that Christ is intimated by the lion, and the devil by the fox. The author also means to teach the real nature of the animals.' Nothing is said of the age or country of the author.

As it is so rare that no quotations have been given from it; and as it is of considerable importance, though hitherto unnoticed, on the question of the origin and antiquity of rime, some extracts from it may not be unacceptable here, reserving others to be adduced in a subsequent page, when we come to consider the subject of poetical rime.

It begins with the lion; and in his first lines on this animal, the author has expressed all that he mentions about himself.

De Leone :

Tres leo naturas, et tres habet inde figuras  
Quâs ego, Christe! tibi his seno carmine scripsi.  
Altera divini memorant animali libri  
De quibus apposui, quæ rursus mystica novi  
Temptans *diversis*, si possum, scribere metris  
Et numerum solidum complent animalia solum <sup>36</sup>.

These are obviously what were afterwards leonine rimes, or lines riming in the middle, and it is probable that they present us with the verses that occasioned the term leonine to be first applied to such rimes.

In these lines, the author declares that he shall write his work in different metres. He has done so; and his diversity consists in making some of hexameter lines that rime in the middle; others of hexameters and pentameters, riming in the same manner; and two of short metre, riming in couplets. The rest on the lion, and the moral attached to it, are thus expressed :

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<sup>36</sup> The commentary remarks, that twelve is the solid number, and one the solum.

Nam leo stans fortis super alta cacumina montis  
 Qualicunque via vallis descendit ad ima  
 Si venatorem per naris sentit odorem,  
 Cauda cuncta linit, que per vestigia figit  
 Quatenus inde suum non possit cernere lustrum  
 Natus non vigilat dum sol se tercio girat  
 Sed rugitum dans pater ejus resuscitat ipsum,  
 Tunc quasi viviscit et sensus quinque capiscit  
 Et quotiens dormit nunquam sua lumina claudit.

CHAP.  
IV.

ANGLO-  
 NORMAN  
 VERNACULAR  
 POETRY.

The application of this is,

Sic, TIBI, qui celsi resides in culmine cœli  
 Cum libuit tandem terrenam visere partem  
 Ut genus humanum relevares crimine lapsum  
 Non penitus notum fuit ulli demoniorum  
 Viscera Mariæ, tibi, CHRISTE ! fuere cubile.  
 Et qui Te genuit triduum post surgere fecit  
 Cum mortis vindex mortem crucis ipse subires  
 Tu, nos custodis qui nullo tempore dormis  
 Pervigil ut pastor, ne demat de grege raptor.

The next lines are on the eagle. These are hexameter and *pentameter* verses, riming also in the middle. He first describes the bird, and then gives it this moral allusion :

Est homo peccatis que sunt ab origine matris  
 Qualis adest aquila, que renovata ita  
 Nubes transcendit, solis incendia sentit  
 Mundum cum pompis despiciendo suis  
 Fit novus in Christo ter mersus gurgite sacro  
 De sursum vivus fons fluit ille pius.  
 Nam novus est panis, super omnia nulla suavis  
 Panis id est Christus sit sine fine cibus.

Those on the ant, the fox, the stag, the elephant, and the whale, are also hexameters and pentameters riming in the middle. From the latter a quotation may be made, as it gives us an earlier specimen, if not

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

the actual prototype of our Milton's fine simile on the leviathan or whale :

Him, haply slumbering on the Norway foam,  
The pilot of some small night-foundered skiff  
Deeming some island, oft, as seamen tell,  
With fixed anchor in his scaly rind,  
Moors by his side under the lee, while night  
Invests the sea and wished morn delays<sup>37</sup>.

In Theobald's, the same idea is thus very picturesquely expressed. He begins with saying, that the whale lies on the sea, to all appearance, a great promontory.

*Est promontorium cernere non modicum.  
Huic religare sitam præ tempestate carinam  
Nautæ festinant ; utque foris saliant,  
Accendunt vigilem, quem navis portitat, ignem  
Ut calesefaciant et comedenda coquant.  
Ille focum sentit, tunc se fugiendo remergit  
Unde prius venit sic que carina perit.*

The verses on the syren and the panther are like those on the lion, only hexameter verses riming in the middle. Thus having described the syren as twofold in body, like a mermaid, half woman half fish ; he educes from it this moral reflection :

*Quam plures homines, sic sunt in more biformes,  
Unum dicentes, aliud tibi mox facientes ;  
Qui foris ut fantur, non intres sic operantur.*

His last verses are on the panther, and he closes with these lines :

*Est autem Christus Panther alegorice dictus—  
Qui fugit atque latet, nec in ipso tempore patet  
Serpens antiquus, qui nobis est inimicus  
Nam que palam nullos audet clam fallere multos  
Quos cum defendat, qui secla per omnia regnat.*

---

<sup>37</sup> Paradise Lost, book 1.



The Harleian manuscript adds,

Carmine finito, sit laus et gloria Christo  
Cui, si non alii, placeat hæc metra Tebaldi <sup>38</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

Philippe Du Than begins his animals like Theobald's, with the lion, but evinces himself at once in that, not to be a mere translator; for while the Physiologus gives only twenty-four hexameter lines to this king of beasts, Du Than makes him occupy ten pages. But he has taken what he pleased from his other authorities, and therefore we find in him the monorces, the beaver, the hyena, the crocodile, the donkey, and the partridge, which are not among the twelve animals selected by Theobald. He enlarges on the ant far beyond this author <sup>39</sup>.

It seems to us absurd for him to have hunted for allegorical meanings and religious applications, which have really no greater connection with the animals he describes, than with a monkey or a potatoe. But like all poets, he wrote to please, and would not have thus written, if it had not gratified the royal patroness, to whom he addressed it. We cannot discover how the beautiful queen could be either edified or interested to know that the phoenix signifies our Saviour, and the crocodile the devil; or that the attraction of iron by the loadstone implies the conversion of the pagans to Christianity <sup>40</sup>. It

<sup>38</sup> Harl. MS. N° 3093. The printed copy has not these two concluding lines. The MS. ends 'explicit liber fisiologi,' and begins, 'Incipit liber fisiologus a Thelbaldo *Italico* compositus. Dr. Warton mentions this MS. but has quoted nothing from it.

<sup>39</sup> MS. p. 52.

<sup>40</sup> E cel vertu ad en sei, le fer trait od sei;

Signifie ge Xens traient a la lur les paens,

Quant il laissent lur eresie e creient el fiz scæ Mariæ.

Du Than. MS. Ib.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

seems to us, that these fancies could have only pleased our ancestors, because in the total vacuity of unlettered ignorance, any ideas, any reading, must be preferable to none. Literature is in any shape so grateful to those who have mastered its alphabet, that it requires some cultivation to be able to detect or to dislike even its absurdities. But all preceding ages, from Orpheus<sup>41</sup> to the last century, have liked such works, though we may perhaps now say, at least of all cultivated minds, that their popularity is gone, even in poetry, for ever.

Philippe's verses on the precious stones seems to be founded on those of Marbodius on the gems, whom he means by 'Lapidaire.'

This author was a Breton, and bishop of Rennes, in Bretagne, to his death, in 1123. His book 'de Gemmis,' was long very popular<sup>42</sup>.

It has no addition of allegorical interpretations.

<sup>41</sup> Du Than is certainly not worse than the celebrated Orpheus appears in the mythological poems on stones ascribed to him—and published by Gesner. In meaning, there seems to be no superiority.—His writing on animals may have been owing to Henry the first's attachment to them.

<sup>42</sup> Marbodius wrote it under the name of Evax, an Arabian king. He seems to have been one of those who studied the Arabian writings, for he mentions the importation of the gems into Europe by the Arabs very often ; as,

On the Sardonyx :

Partibus hunc nostris Arabes : Sed et India mittit.

On the Onyx :

Hanc quoque dant nobis Arabes ; dat et India gemmam.

The Yri :

Yrin dant Arabes : sed gignit eum mare rubrum.

The Melochite :

Hunc Arabum gentes prius invenisse feruntur.

Marbodius had a more plain and common-sense mind, which his versification of proverbs or moral aphorisms, under the name of Cato the Philosopher, sufficiently indicates<sup>43</sup>. But a mystical or moral application was in time added by some one in prose<sup>44</sup>.

Another clerical rimer, to whom the versification of our ancient poetry must have been much indebted, was Sanson de Nanteuil<sup>45</sup>, who lived in the reign of Stephen. He then wrote what he calls a *Romanz*<sup>46</sup>. It is a translation of the Proverbs of

CHAP.  
IV.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

Sanson de  
Nanteuil's  
Proverbs.

<sup>43</sup> Fabricius has printed these ; some are striking.

Tu si animo regeris, Rex es ; si corpore, servus.—

Proximus esto bonis, si non potes optimus esse.—

Non placet ille mihi, quisquis placeat sibi multum.—

Quanto major eris, tanto moderatur esto.—

Fac, quod te par sit ; non alter quod mereatur.—

Aspera perpressu, fiunt jocunda relatu.—

Bib. Med. Lat. l. 12. p. 51.

<sup>44</sup> There is an old French paraphrase of the work of Marbodius, beginning—

Evax fut un multe riche Reis

Lu regne tint des Arabais.

This is nearly as ancient as the time of Marbodius. Fab. ib. 55.

I observe that Everhard Bethuniensis, who lived 1124, in his metrical list of the poets he recommends, has inserted these works of Marbodius and Theobald ;

‘ *Naturas lapidum varias, variosque colores*

*Qui ponit lapidum non sapit ille metro.*’

And,

‘ *Naturas Physiologus exponendo ferarum.*’

Fab. Bib. Med. l. 5. p. 225, 7.

<sup>45</sup> MS. Harleian, N° 4388. This is a beautiful specimen of the ancient calligraphy.

<sup>46</sup> Ki ben volt estre engranz

Entendet dunc a cest roman

Qi al loenge damne de

Et a senor al translate.

Sanson de Nanteuil. MS. Ib.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

Solomon into eight-syllable verse of Norman French with a copious "Glosse." His plan is, to give the Latin vulgate of a verse or more, then his versified translation; and afterwards his glosse, which is sometimes moral, and sometimes allegorical. If quantity could compensate for defect of quality, he would abundantly satisfy us, for he has contrived to rime above 12,000 lines into couplets. He also implies the state of the minstrel poetry, by classing the hearing of songs and tales among the acts of criminal voluptuousness. To us the rime is the only mark of poetry in its composition; but, as a collection of didactic aphorisms in familiar verse, it must have been an important present to the awakening thought of the unlearned population. This is another of the works, which our ancient literature owed to the intellectual curiosity of the Anglo-Norman ladies, Alice de Conde<sup>47</sup>.

The encouragement given to literature in England, from the happy taste of Henry I. his queens, court, and clergy, so diffusely spread the desire to attain it, that even the stormy reign of Stephen seems to have been no impediment to its cultivation. Perhaps the

<sup>47</sup> The preceding extract continues—

- - - - Ki souient  
De sa dame qu'il aime e crient ;  
Ki mainte feiz l'en out pried  
Qi li disclairast cel traited.  
Le num de ceste damme escrist  
Cil ki translation fist,  
Aeliz de cunde l'apele,  
Noble dame enseigne et bele.—Sanson MS. Ib

So Aymes says he wrote his Florimont to please a lady—  
Seigneur oz oies que je di  
Aymes pour l'amour de Neilli,  
Si fist le romans si sagement.

Aymes MS. Harl. N° 3983.

military exactions and movements confined the clergy to their homes and monasteries, and made them more studious. It is certain that this wasteful period of civil misery was the interval in which the Anglo-Norman mind was extensively educating itself. Not only did a number of chroniclers and historians, of Latin poets and logicians, of theologians and civilians, then prosecute their studies, preparatory to their development in the succeeding reign of H  nry II ; but a sort of school of Anglo-Norman poetry was formed, in which, to write vernacular histories became the prevailing taste. We can distinguish three great contemporaries of this school, great from the massiveness and important effects of their works, Wace, Gaimar, Beneoit : and we find several others alluded to.

Wace, the superior of all, in the fluency and metre of his verse, and sometimes in narrative ability, has left us an interesting notice on his own biography. He was born in Jersey, was taken young to Caen, and there put to school<sup>48</sup> ; he was afterwards in France, and returning to Caen, he applied himself to writing romanz, to which the king encouraged him<sup>49</sup>,

CHAP.  
IV.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

Wace's  
historical  
poems.

<sup>48</sup> Si l'on demande qui co dist  
Qui ceste estoire en romanz fist  
Io di e dirai q   io sui  
Wace del isle de Gersui  
Qui est en mer vers occident  
Al lieu de Normandie apent  
En l'isle de Gersui fui nez  
A chaem fui petit portez,  
Illoques fui a lettres mis  
Pois fuis longues en france apris."

Wace MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

<sup>49</sup> Quant io de france repairai  
A chaems longues conversai



and for which Henry II. gave him a prebend at Bayeux. In another place, he complains, that the noblesse which had patronized him were dead, and that no one was liberal to him but his sovereign, “Henris li secunt<sup>50</sup>.” Probably like Blackmore he had satiated the public taste and outlived the public favour.

The first work of his that we are acquainted with, was his *Brut*, or his roman, composed from Jeffry’s British History. He dates this himself, as having been written in 1155<sup>51</sup>. That Anglo-Norman poetry so early connected itself with history, and yet diverged into fable, may be thus accounted for.

A taste for historical information prevailed in England after the Norman conquest. So great a revolution excited a desire in the Normans to commemorate it; and William of Poitou, with Sallust in

De romanz faire m’entremis  
Mult en escriis e mult en fis  
Par deu aie e par le rei.

Wace MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

<sup>50</sup> Morte est qi jadis fud noblesce  
E perie est od lui largesce—  
Ne truis guaires ki rien me dunt  
Fors le Reis Henris li secunt.—MS. Ib.

<sup>51</sup> He says,

Mil e cent cinquante cinc ans,  
Fist Mestre Wace cest romans.

MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

In another MS. of this poem his name is written Gace—

Mil et CLV ans  
Fist Maestre Gace cest romans.

MS. Harl. N° 6508.

Fauchet mentions two other MSS. in which he is called *Metre Huistace*, and *Metre Wistace*. p. 82.

his mind <sup>52</sup>, attempted to narrate it. Marianus, born either in Ireland or Scotland, and who had settled at Mentz, attached himself to the study of chronology, and corrected the erroneous computations that had been made from the Christian æra <sup>53</sup>. His work excited Robert of Lorraine, who had been made bishop of Hereford, to cultivate the same important branch of inquiry <sup>54</sup>. History, thus recommended to the notice of the Anglo-Normans, became the peculiar study of the earl of Gloucester, the natural son of Henry I; and to his urgency, and that of a literary prelate, his contemporary, we owe the History of William of Malmsbury, and the Annals of Henry of Huntingdon. Their taste spread around.

CHAP.  
IV.ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

In this state of the public mind, and while the vernacular poets had thought only of composing the dull allegory of Du Than, the Proverbs of Sanson, or Lives of Saints, a work appeared in Latin, which gave a new direction to their talent, and may be regarded as the real parent of our narrative poetry. This was Jeffry of Monmouth's British History. In the latter part of the reign of Henry I. an archdeacon Walter put into the hands of Jeffry, a book in Welsh, which he stated that he had found in Bretagne, relating the actions of the ancient kings of Britain, from Brutus to Cadwallader. From this history,

Jeffry of  
Mon-  
mouth's  
British  
History;

<sup>52</sup> So Ordericus Vitalis remarks, p. 521.

<sup>53</sup> He wrote a Chronicon mundi to 1076, which Pistorius and others have published, on the plan of Dionysius Exiguus, who made the Christian æra the basis of his chronology, but he added 22 years which had been omitted. Malmsb. de Gestis Pont. 286.

<sup>54</sup> He abridged Marianus, ita splendide, says Malmsbury, p. 286. that he excelled his original. He wrote several treatises on lunar computations; on the motions of the stars; mathematical tables, &c. He died 1095.

BOOK  
II.  
LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

amplified by the addition at least of verbal information on Arthur from Walter, and by the insertion of Merlin's prophecies<sup>55</sup>, Jeffry gave to the world a Latin work, which he declared to be a translation of the Welsh author<sup>56</sup>. He dedicated it to the earl of Gloucester, whose approbation was celebrity; and he addressed the Prophecies to the bishop of Lincoln, a munificent prelate, fond of learning, and distinguished by the knights and noblemen in his train, and who had requested Jeffry to translate the vaticinations of Merlin from the British into Latin<sup>47</sup>.

Its great  
popularity.

Thus highly introduced into the world, and flattering as it did the vanity of the population of Britain, by deriving it from a nation so immortalized in sons as the Trojans, and by giving it a common ancestry with the Romans, and of equal antiquity, and aided by some political patronage, it was favourably received in England. It was also well composed. Jeffry was a smooth Latin versifier, and his style is flowing and easy. The book was full of

<sup>55</sup> Jeffry Mon. l. 1. c. 1.—He begins his eleventh book, on the wars between Arthur and Modred, with saying, that he will write ut in Britannico sermone invenit et a Galtero Oxenofordensi in multis historiis peritissimo viro audivit. l. 11. c. 1.—and see l. 7. c. 1 & 2.

<sup>56</sup> Several of Jeffry's interspersed observations imply that he has in part made a book of his own, and not merely translated an author. If he merely translated, why should he decline to handle particular points of the history because Gildas had already told them, or told them better, as in l. 4. c. 20. and l. 1. c. 17. He assumes here a right of shaping his work as he pleased; as he also does in l. 11. c. 10. when he declares his intention of relating elsewhere the Armorican emigrations.

<sup>57</sup> L. 7. c. 1 & 2. There is one MS. copy of this work existing, in which the author dedicates it to king Stephen. Simner Bib. Bern. 2. p. 242.

new and extraordinary incidents. Its historical fictions were so many interesting romances; and it is often so dramatically and even poetically narrated, that it was peculiarly adapted to engage the attention of an age, to whose strong passions and wondering minds, even history would be more welcome for intermingled fable. It became so surprisingly popular, notwithstanding its anachronisms and falshoods, which few could then detect, and which, even down to our days, have been more or less defended, that it became a mark of rusticity in that age to be unacquainted with it<sup>58</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

The connexion of our ancient Britons with the destruction of Troy, was not the invention of Jeffry. Solinus says, that an altar with Greek letters, in Caledonia, shows that Ulysses had landed there<sup>59</sup>. Ammianus Marcellinus, the Roman historian of the fourth century, relates, that in his days some said that Gaul had been peopled by some of the dispersed Greeks returning from Troy<sup>60</sup>; and Nennius briefly derives the Britons from Bruto, the great grandson of the Trojan Æneas<sup>61</sup>. That the Welsh had also ancient genealogies to Belus Mawr, and from him to Æneas, we learn from Giraldus<sup>62</sup>. So that it is clear, the story of the Trojan descent of the

<sup>58</sup> So says Alured of Beverley—and he adds—"and while the young people were committing it to memory, and reciting it agreeably, I often blushed amid such confabulators, that I had never seen it. I therefore sought for it; and when I found it, I studied it most diligently." He then applied himself to abridge it, for more general circulation. Alur. Beverl. Ann. l. 1. p. 2.

<sup>59</sup> Solinus Polyhistor. c. 22.

<sup>60</sup> Amm. Marcel. l. 15. c. 9. p. 75.

<sup>61</sup> Nennius Hist. Brit. c. 3 & 4.

<sup>62</sup> Itin. Camb.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

Britons and Gauls was floating in the world before Jeffry wrote<sup>63</sup>.

But all these traditions were vague, rude, and void of authority or circumstance, before Jeffry's book was published. In that they appeared in a state-ly port, with living forms and features, and with historical pretensions. Hence his history strongly impressed the imaginations of the Normans, whose surprising successes in France, England, and Sicily, had given them a taste for the splendid achievements of other times. From the writings of Wace, we may perceive that the great revolutions noticed in ancient history, which, though true, may be called its romantic periods, had already been presented to their notice<sup>64</sup>; and these cannot be contemplated at any time without exciting interesting thought. Wace dwells upon the theme with a visible fondness, and ingeniously moralizes upon it to enforce his infer-

<sup>63</sup> The French were as anxious for the same line of ancestry.—Ammonius deduces their nation from Francus the son of Hector; and the Count Caylus remarks, that Paul Warnefred, to please Charlemagne, made Anchises, the father of Æneas, to be one of the ancestors of the prelate from whom the Carlovingian princes descended. 11 Hist. Ab. Insc. p. 417. So in Germany, the emperor Conrad was traced to Æneas, and his wife to a Trojan family.

<sup>64</sup> Wace begins his poem on the History of Normandy, with a recapitulation of the great events of antiquity—the fall of Thebes, Troy, Nineveh and Babylon. On Alexander he alludes to the fabulous accounts of his day—

Alisandre fud reis puissanz  
Duze regnes prist en duze ans.

And Cæsar he describes as

Cesar ki tant fist e tant pout  
Ki tut le mund cunquist e out.

MS. B. R. 4. c. 11.



ence, that unless preserved by letters, all memory of these mighty changes would have perished <sup>65</sup>.

The British History of Jeffry electrified the literary mind of Europe. It startled some; it amused all. Many doubted; most admired; some disbelieved, and a few abused it. But it was so much talked of, that all whom intellectual subjects then interested, and their number was daily increasing, wished, as we have remarked from Alured of Beverley, to become acquainted with it. The Anglo-Norman ladies, who seem to have rivalled the men in their literary curiosity, partook of the general feeling <sup>66</sup>; and one highly beneficial effect soon arose from this universal popularity—the application of the clerical poets to compose vernacular histories in verse. Jeffry's Latin dress was accessible only to the clergy. In Anglo-Norman verse, the courtier and

CHAP.  
IV.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

<sup>65</sup> Tute rien turne en declin,  
Tut chiet, tut moert, tut trait a fin  
Tut funt, tut chiet; rose flaistris  
Cheval trebuche, drap viescist,  
Huem moert, fer use, fust purrist  
Tutte rien fatte od mein perist.

He then adds the passage quoted in the preceding note 18.

<sup>61</sup> Gaimar says that lady Custance sent for the book of British History, and borrowed it—

Ele enriad a Helmstac  
Pur le livere Walter espac  
Robert le grans de Glouceste  
Fist translater icele geste,  
Solum les liveres as Waleis,  
Kil aveient des Bretons reis—  
Dame Custance l'enpruntat  
De son seigneur k'ele mult amat.

MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A. 21.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.Wace puts  
it into  
verse.

the knight, the boronial and the female world, could understand and appreciate it <sup>67</sup>.

One of these popular versifiers was Wace, who in his 'Le Brut,' gave his countrymen, not so much a translation of Jeffry's work, but, what was more improving both to them and to himself, a narrative poem made from it in riming couplets, consisting, in their most perfect metre, of eight syllables in a line, but in the less finished verses, deviating into more <sup>68</sup>.

In this performance, he frequently expatiates on his own resources in the parts that particularly interested him. He begins by stating the capture of Troy, and the escape of Æneas into Italy; but he expands nine lines of his original into sixty-eight of his own. In the same way he dilates Jeffry's ten first chapters into a thousand lines. But it is unnecessary to pursue the comparison minutely. We may say in general, that he takes his facts from his authority, but tells the story in his own phrase, omitting, expanding, and epitomizing as he pleased.

His success with this, and the taste for vernacular history, which was then created, encouraged him to new efforts; and two immense Norman histories in rime proceeded from his pen, the Rou, and the Chronique de Normandie <sup>69</sup>. He appears to have

<sup>67</sup> For this reason, Beneoit declares he wrote his hystorie—

Que de latin ou je la truis,  
Si je ai le sens e je puis,  
La vodrai si en roumanz mestre  
Que cil que n'entendra la lestre  
Delicier se puisse el roumans.—MS. Harl. 4482.

<sup>68</sup> It exists in MS. in Bib. Reg. 13. A. 21. also Harl. N° 6508.

<sup>69</sup> In his roman de Normandie he thus mentions his Rou—

Ai jeo de Roul lugnes cunte  
E de sun riche parente

devoted himself to this employment, and for some time at least to have been liberally patronized <sup>70</sup>.

Another of these historical versifiers, was Geffrai Gaimar, whose "Estorie des Engles" follows the Brut of Wace in the MS. in the British Museum. He ascribes the existence of this work entirely to an Anglo-Norman lady. He says Dame Custance le gentil caused him to translate it; that he was a year about it <sup>71</sup>; that he had procured many English books, and others in Romanz and in Latin, to complete it; that without her aid he could not have finished it <sup>72</sup>; that she often had the work, often read

CHAP.  
IV.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

Gaimar's  
Estorie des  
Angles.

De Normandie, que il cunquist;  
E des proescs que il i fist;  
E de Guillaume lunge espee  
Avum l'estoire avant menée.

Wace MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

- <sup>70</sup> Mais ore puis jeo lunges penser  
Livres escrire e translater;  
Faire rumanz e serventeis;  
Tant truverai, tant seit curteis;  
Ki tant me diunst e mette en main  
Dunt jeo aie un meis un escrivain.  
Ne ki nul autre bien me face  
Fors tant mult dit bien Maistre Wace.

MS. Bib. Reg. Ib.

M. Plaquet has published several pages of extracts from the Roman de Rou, in his Notice sur la Vie de Robert Wace, Rouen, 1824.

- <sup>71</sup> Ici voil del rei finer;  
Ceste estoire fist translater  
Dame Custance la gentil  
Gaimar i mist marz e averil  
E tuz les duize mais  
Ainz kil oust translate des reis.  
<sup>72</sup> Il purchaca mainte esamplaire,  
Liveres angleis e par grammaire;  
E en romanz e en latin  
A jur ken prist triaire a la fin  
Si sa dame ne le aidast  
Ja a nul jor nel achevast.

Gaimar MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

## BOOK

## II.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

it in her chamber, and gave him a mark of silver for transcribing it <sup>73</sup>. Some of his expressions imply, that he had written, or intended to write, on the Trojan story <sup>74</sup>; but the present copy begins where the Brut leaves off, and ends with William Rufus. He says that if he had chosen to have written of king Henry, he had a thousand things to say, which a Trouveur, whom he calls David, had not written, nor the queen of Louvain had possessed <sup>75</sup>. From him we learn, that David was another of these historical poets; but his praise by Gaimar is all that has survived of him <sup>76</sup>.

Beneoit's  
Trojan  
poem,

A third great versifier of this school was Beneoit de Sainte More <sup>77</sup>. He chose the Trojan story for his

<sup>73</sup> Dame Custance en ad l'escrit

En sa chambre sovent le lit;

E ad pur lescire done

Un marc d'argent art e pese.

Gaimar MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

<sup>74</sup> Tres ke ce dit Gaimar de troie.

Il comencat la u Jasun

A la conquere la tuisun.—MS. Ib.

<sup>75</sup> Ore dit Gaimar, s'il ad garrant

Dei rei Henri, dirrat avant

Ke s'il en volt un poi parler

E de sa vie translater

Tels mil choses en purrad dire

Ke unkes Davit ne fist escrivere

Ne la raine de Luvain

N'en tint le livere en sa main.—MS. Ib.

<sup>76</sup> Bien dit Davit e bien trovat

E la chancon bien asemblat—

- - - - -

Ore mand Davit ke si li pleist

Avant ehe si pas nel leist

Car sil en-volt avant trover

Son livere en pot mult amender.—MS. Ib.

<sup>77</sup> The copy in the British Museum, Harl. MS. N° 4482. is very neatly written, and much ornamented.

subject, as a rich and great theme, and also as new<sup>78</sup>. He professes to take it from Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis. But though he may have borrowed his facts from his originals, he trusts to his own powers for his descriptions and general style. Some parts he dilates and dramatizes, not unhappily; as in his narrative of the intercourse between Jason and Medea. This is concisely told by Dictys Cretensis; but Beneoit gives interesting pictures of manners in his account of their dresses, her father's city, the amusements in his palace, and her splendid bed. He rises even sometimes to poetry, as in his description of the spring<sup>79</sup>, when he is about to introduce Hercules and Laomedon; but his prevailing character is easy narrative, a pleasing metre, and fluent rime<sup>80</sup>. This work of Beneoit, deserves our more attentive notice, because Guido de Columna, the

CHAP.  
IV.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

<sup>78</sup> Ceste hystorie nest pas usee  
Ne en gaires de lieus trouvée,  
Ja retraite ne fust encore  
Mais Beneois de Sainte More  
L'agmencie e faite e dite—  
Moute e lestoire riche e grans  
E de grant oeuvre e de grant fait.

Beneoit MS. Ib.

<sup>79</sup> Quant vint el tems que vers devise  
Que herbe us point en la rise  
Lorque florissent le ramel  
E doucement chantent oisel  
Merle mavins e loriol  
E estournel e rossignol.  
La blanche flors part en l'espine  
E reverdoie la gaudine  
Quant le tems e dou e souez  
Lor partirent del port les nez.—MS. Ib.

<sup>80</sup> M. de la Rue's dissertation on these poets will reward the perusal. Archæol. vol. 12.—We owe their discovery to him.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

judge of Messena, whose 'Historia Trojana' became so celebrated in the middle ages, has either taken Beneoit's poem for his theme, or has tracked his paths. Guido's work is a prose narration of the wars of Troy. After mentioning that Homer, Virgil, and Ovid had composed on the subject, he refers to the more complete descriptions of Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius as his authorities, and ends with saying, that he has followed Dictys the Cretan in all <sup>81</sup>. To have built his work on the same foundation as our Beneoit, is not indeed a proof of authorial plagiarism, but it leads us to a suspicion of it, or at least entitles Beneoit to be remembered as the first who thus made a 'riche e grans estoire' of the whole Trojan story.

and Roman  
de Nor-  
mandie.

Wace has mentioned that the subject of his Roman de Normandie had been anticipated by Maistre Beneoit, who had written on it by his sovereign's desire <sup>82</sup>. This work has come down to us, tremendous in its length <sup>83</sup>. He begins where Dudo begins, and

<sup>81</sup> Guido dates his own work thus: 'I, Guido de Columna, judex de Messana, wrote it in the year 1287.' It was printed at Strasburg, 1486.

<sup>82</sup> Oie eu avant qi dire en deit  
Jaidit por Maistre Beneit.  
Qi cest oure a dire a emprise  
Com li reis la disor lui mise  
Quant li reis li a roue faire  
Laissier la dei si men dei taire.

Wace Norm. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

<sup>83</sup> He thus twice mentions his name—

L'estorie de Guillaume fenist ci long espee  
Si cum Beneit la escrite e translatee

- - - - -  
Ici comence l'estoire del rei Guillaume  
Si cum Beneit la translata.

MS. Harl. N° 1717. pp. 85 & 192.

proceeds to the death of Henry I. He mentions Alice of Louvaine, this king's last queen, as befriending him <sup>84</sup>; and though, he says, his labour has been grievous, he consoles himself by the pleasure he shall give his seignor Henry II. by his work <sup>85</sup>.

All these rimed histories, although in truth so wearisome that we are astonished at the patience which could read, as well as at the perseverance that could write them, were important accessions to the intellect of the day. They made reading popular among the great and fair; they kindled the wish of these rulers of human society to be themselves "in-urned in song;" and by their description and praise of better actions, they contributed to extinguish such fierce characters as prevailed at that period. Being easy of comprehension, they provided an agreeable occupation for the leisure of the affluent; and thus made

CHAP.  
IV.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

<sup>84</sup> Puis prist femme li reis Henris  
Pucele mult vaillant de sei  
Qui fu fille au duc Godefroi  
De Louan; si out non Aliez  
E si me retrait li escriz.—Beneoit MS. Ib.

I think this Alice is the queen of Louvain mentioned by Gaimar.

<sup>85</sup> Qual plaisir seit de mun seignor  
Del bon rei Henri fiz Maheut,  
Que si benigne cum il seut  
Seit al oir e al entendre  
Nest pas de mes pors l'amendre.

- - - - -

Si soffert jai gref labor  
Qual plaisir seit de mun seignor.

Beneoit MS. Ib.

I have sometimes doubted if this author was Benoît de la More, because the style of the Trojan story seems more flowing and cultivated. Perhaps being more at liberty to use his fancy in that poem, his pen was improved by his invention.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

literature one of the needful luxuries of life. That they opened a pathway to natural poetry and original composition, was a merit that gives them high rank in our literary history. They excited such a taste for works in rimed verse, that in the thirteenth century the rules of monasteries were put into it, as were also the Institutes of Justinian, and the customs of Normandy<sup>86</sup>.

Fictitious  
romances.

But their fecundity in time lessened their popularity; their lengthy and uniform narrations ceased to interest when the novelty was over; the rage for histories in verse expired in satiety. The Trojan story was more interesting than the *Chronique de Normandie*; and the extraordinary adventures accompanying the Crusades, made the usual incidents of history appear flat and unprofitable. An Arthur that could be exaggerated at the pleasure of the imagination, was a far more delightful person than a William lungespée, or than a Henry fiz-Maheut, whose sober actions were too well known to be misrepresented with credit. A new description of narrative compositions then prevailed, before whose superior charms the *estorie* gave way. These were the actual romances, the numerous fictions starting at first under the garb, and vapouring with the name of history, but with every incident a fable. Some renowned characters in former times were taken as the basis of the story, as Arthur, Charlemagne, and Alexander, but on their foundation the writer raised what superstructure he pleased.

Wace's  
Chevalier  
au Lion.

In these, likewise, the indefatigable Wace led the way. His *Chevalier au Lion* seems to be one of the

<sup>86</sup> Roquefort de la Poes. Franc. p. 252.—La Rue.

earliest fictitious romans that has descended to our knowledge<sup>87</sup>. But he was soon followed by an endless and motley train<sup>88</sup>.

That there were tales and traditions in circulation about Arthur, before either Jeffry or Wace, both these writers acknowledge<sup>89</sup>. Jeffry's book seems to have

CHAP.  
IV.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

<sup>87</sup> M. Galland mentions that the MS. of this romance, which he inspected, dates its composition 1155—Thus

Mil e cent cinquante ans

Fit Maistre Gasse ce romance.

3 Mem. Ac. 468.

The Chevalier au Leon is supposed to be the French original of the "Ywaine and Gawin," published by Mr. Ritson; if so, I should suppose it to have been a Breton tale.

<sup>88</sup> In the British Museum, Bib. Reg. 15. f. 6. is a large handsome MS. folio that contains several French romances, viz. Charlemagne, Ogier le Danois, and Chevalier au Signe, in verse—and Alexandre, Montauban, Roy Pontus, and Guy de Warwick, in prose. The MS. 8. f. 9. contains Guy de Warwyck, in eight foot verse, rimed.—The MS. 16. G 2. the quatrefilz d'Aymon.—The MS. 20. B 19. has les Gestes de Garin, in French verse—and the MS. 20. D 2. and 20. D 3. consists of Tristram, and Lancelot du Lac, in prose.—The MS. 14. E 3. contains the ponderous St. Graal.—These will sufficiently satisfy any general curiosity on this subject.

<sup>89</sup> Jeffry Hist. l. 1. c. 1.; and Wace, in these passages of his Brut—

Fist Artur la ronde table

Dunt Breton dient meint fable.—

He says, in this great country

Furent les merveilles privées

E les aventures trovées,

Ke de Artur sunt controvees,

E a fables sunt turneis.—

He adds,

Tant ont li contur conté

E lui fablur tant fablé, &c.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

been the parent of some of the romances on Arthur; but the numerous incidents which others describe, of this king and his knights, which have no resemblance to any thing in Jeffry, may have been derived from the Breton tales<sup>90</sup>. The story of Tristram discovers its Breton origin in every part<sup>91</sup>; the San Graal, and many of the round table lays, point to the same source.

<sup>90</sup> The above extracts from Wace are such decisive evidence of the existence of the Breton lays about Arthur, that Bretagne has certainly great claims to the origin of this cyclis of romance—the earliest, perhaps, that appeared in England and France.

<sup>91</sup> There is a Drem-ruz famous in the Breton history. I have sometimes asked whether he was the Tristram of romance, who is always made a Breton prince. Drem-ruz inverted would be ruz-drem—It means ruddy-face.—M. Douce, in answer to my query, says, “The inverted name of Tramtris was given to Tristram in his infancy, when he was bred up as the son of a person not his parent. He more than once assumes the name in the course of the romance—once as the tutor of Iseult, and again when disguised as a merchant.”



## C H A P. V.

*On the Romances upon Arthur and the Round Table.*

AS the earliest romances which appeared either in England, in Normandy or in France, were those on Arthur and his knights, it is natural for an Englishman to inquire from what source or country they originated.

CHAP.  
V.

In the appendix to the first edition of the first volume of the Anglo-Saxon History, published in 1799, some circumstances were mentioned, which made the author desirous to ascertain, whether the tales of the romancers on Arthur and his knights did not originate in Wales and Bretagne<sup>1</sup>.

Origin of  
the ro-  
mances on  
Arthur.

It was also remarked, that the coincidence between several things mentioned in these tales, and those preserved in the Welsh traditions of Arthur and his friends, could have arisen only from communication; and that the Bretons must have been the medium through which the Welsh narrations got into France<sup>2</sup>. A similar opinion was afterwards expressed by Mr. Leyden<sup>3</sup>, and adopted by Mr. G. Ellis<sup>4</sup>. In the second edition of Anglo-Saxon History, published in 1807<sup>5</sup>, the author remarked on the colonization of Bretagne from the British islands, and showed

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Anglo-Sax. V. 1. p. 389. 1st ed. 1799.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 383.

<sup>3</sup> See his Introduction to his Complaint of Scotland.

<sup>4</sup> In his 'Early English Metrical Romances,' p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Anglo-Sax. V. 1. p. 108—116. 2d ed. 4°.

## HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

### II.

#### LITERARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

that druids, a branch of the ancient bards of Britain, were in that province in the fourth century ; and reasoned, that from the subsequent emigrations of both chiefs and people from our island to Bretagne, and from the fact, that bards were a part of the household of every chieftain's family, there must have been bards, and a cultivation of poetry in Bretagne during the sixth and seventh centuries. Some circumstances were mentioned, which made it probable that the Breton bards would gradually deviate into more popular poetry ; and from the peculiarities of their new situations, and the necessity of acquiring subsistence, would seek rather to amuse the people by tales, than by the artificial verses which they had composed in Britain and Wales<sup>6</sup>. A decisive evidence that there were in the sixth and seventh centuries, in Armorica and Wales, wandering bards or minstrels, who descended from their original loftiness of character to humbler efforts, to please the people by more amusive tales and songs, was given in a translation of a Satire of Taliesin, distinctly describing and expressly written to reproach, this new, and, as he thought, demoralizing vagrant from the ancient British Parnassus<sup>7</sup>.

In 1815, M. de la Rue, to whom we are indebted for first bringing to the public notice some of our most ancient Norman poems, by his letters on them read

<sup>6</sup> This passage was omitted in the editions of the Anglo-Saxon History since the second, and has been inserted in the new edition of the Vindication of the Ancient British Bards, which has been added to the 4th edition of the Anglo-Saxon History. V. 3. p. 552—7.

<sup>7</sup> This is now reprinted in the Vindication, 3 Anglo-Sax. 556—7. 4th ed.

before the Antiquarian Society, and printed in its *Archæologia*<sup>8</sup>, published a work on the Bards of Bretagne<sup>9</sup>, which urges the same idea, of the early French romances having originated from them. About the same time, M. de Roquefort inclined to the belief, that the Anglo-Normans had adopted the Breton traditions among others<sup>10</sup>.

CHAP. V.  
ROMANCES  
UPON  
ARTHUR  
AND THE  
ROUND  
TABLE.

Mr. Douce has since declared his opinion to be, that the tales of Arthur and his knights, which have appeared in so many forms, and under the various titles of the St. Graal, Tristram de Leonnois, Lancelot du Lac, &c., were not immediately borrowed from the work of Jeffry of Monmouth, but from his Armorican originals<sup>11</sup>.

The late editor of Warton's *History of English Poetry* (1824,) whose elaborate preface shows both his research and his ability, has intimated, that 'every further investigation of the subject only tends to support this opinion<sup>12</sup>.' These concurring

<sup>8</sup> In the 13th and 14th volumes.

<sup>9</sup> *Recherches sur les ouvrages des Bardes de la Bretagne Arménique*. Caen 1815.

<sup>10</sup> See his 'Etat de la Poesie Françoise dans les 12 & 13 siècles.' Paris, 1815. p. 46, &c. To this intelligent inquirer we also owe the *Glossaire of the Langue Romane*, the publication of the *Lais de Mariè*, and other valuable works.

<sup>11</sup> Warton's *History of English Poetry*, 8<sup>o</sup> ed. 1824. 1 Diss. xvi. note g. I am happy to find the opinion expressed in the second edition of the *Anglo-Saxons*, 4<sup>o</sup>, p. 114. that Breton tales existed before Jeffry published, sanctioned by the belief of a gentleman so conversant in our old romances as M. Douce.

<sup>12</sup> The editor also justly says, 'The concurrent testimony of the French romances is now admitted to have proved the existence of a large body of fiction relative to Arthur, in the province of Brittany; and while they confirm the assertions of Jeffry in this single particular, it is equally clear that they have neither echoed his language, nor borrowed his materials.' Pref. p. 99.

opinions satisfy the present author, that in looking into Bretagne and Wales for the origin of the romances on Arthur and his knights, he was not misled by a mere visionary conjecture. Mr. Warton had also glanced his eye on Armorica, but it was with a belief, not that Welsh, but that Arabian fictions had been imported into it<sup>13</sup>.

That there were poets, or a class of bards of a more popular kind than the ancient insular ones, flourishing and favoured in Bretagne after the fifth century, and before the Norman conquest, was shown upon ancient authorities, in the reprint of the Vindication of the Ancient British Poems, which was added to the fourth edition of the History of the Anglo-Saxons<sup>14</sup>. This new description of bards, so degenerated in the opinion of the successors of the ancient ones, but so much more pleasing to the feelings of their contemporaries, are also noticed in the ancient Welsh triads; for one of these triads mentions, that the ancient bardism was corrupted by three peoples; and names the Bretons of Armorica as one who had deteriorated it<sup>15</sup>.

But the most popular subject which the bards of Bretagne could have chosen to interest the British colonists, who had new peopled it, must have been

<sup>13</sup> Hist. Poetry, 1 Diss. p. 3. This able man, who has thrown so much light on our ancient poetry, and was the first that explored its long-forgotten recesses, was so prepossessed with his oriental theory, as to assert that the Chronicle of Jeffry of Monmouth “*entirely consists of Arabian inventions.*” p. xiv.

<sup>14</sup> See in particular the remarks and citations in pp. 543—6, and 548—558. Hist. Anglo-Sax. V. 3. 4th ed.

<sup>15</sup> It may be thus translated: “Three nations corrupted what was taught them of the bardism of the bards of the isle of Britain, by blending it with vague notions, and on that account they lost it—the Gwyddelians, the *Cymry of Llyddaw*, and the Alinans.”

the brave resistance of themselves or their ancestors and relatives to their hated enemies the Saxons. The indignant exiles would be interested by this topic more than by any other, because with most of the patriotic chieftains they had either kinship or connection. But as time rolled on, and new generations arose in Bretagne, who would become more attached to their native soil than to the sea-divided land of their forefathers; and as new habits and ideas, springing from the new circumstances of the Bretons, would make novelty more popular; and as the facts of history were become transformed by tradition into fictions more agreeable; it was natural that the wars with the Saxons should become obsolete, and that the favourite heroes of the Breton poets should be recollected and combined with incidents more analogous to their local vicinage, and to the new manners of the day. Poets change their themes to please their audience; and hence, to the names which patriotic feeling and ancient tradition had so long venerated, the manners and actions of the middle ages became gradually attached: of these names Arthur was the most renowned and the most admired.

He had combated in various parts of the mother country, and was therefore universally known; he was a patron of bards, and a bard himself; his death furnished a striking catastrophe; and the uncertainty of his grave threw a romantic mystery over all his character; and several of his personal friends emigrated to Bretagne: these reasons seem to make it natural, that the actions of Arthur should have been the favourite subject of the bardic genius. Indeed so greatly were the people of Bretagne interested in his fame, that Alanus de Insulis tells us, that even in his time (the twelfth century) they would not be-

CHAP.  
V.

ROMANCES  
UPON  
ARTHUR,  
AND THE  
ROUND  
TABLE.



lieve that their favourite was dead. "If you do not believe me, go into Bretagne, and mention in the streets or villages, that Arthur is really dead like other men: you will not escape with impunity; you will be either hooted with the curses of your hearers, or stoned to death"<sup>16</sup>. Trouveurs<sup>17</sup>, troubadours<sup>18</sup>, and monkish versifiers<sup>19</sup>, combine to express the same idea. Hence it appears very probable, that the bards of Bretagne were the first inventors and composers of the romances concerning Arthur. Being more removed from the scenes of his actions, they indulged themselves in greater licence in exaggerating them; and indeed, how could they exaggerate too much for hearers, who could not be convinced that he was dead, though seven centuries had revolved since his disappearance? But it would be more gratifying to the Breton feelings to connect their favourite prince with incidents less disastrous, than those which drove them from Britain; and their poets found more benefit from dressing Arthur and his friends in

<sup>16</sup> Alanus de Insulis, p. 17. This author was born 1109. From this foolish chimera, 'Arturem expectare' became a proverb, to denote excessive credulity.

Quibus si credideris

Expectare poteris

Arturem cum Britonibus.—Pet. Bless. Ep. 57.

<sup>17</sup> So Wace, in 1155:—

'Uncore i est Breton l'atendent.

Si com il dient e entendent

de la vendra uncore pot vivere.

MS. Brut. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

<sup>18</sup> So the Troubadour, Mathieu de Querci, says, about 1276—  
'As much as the Bretons have wept and still weep for the good king Arthur.' 2 Palaye, 262.

<sup>19</sup> Jos. Iscanus also shows this; for in his poem de bello Trojano, he says—

Sic Britonem redenda fides et credulus error

Arturum expeetat, expectabit que perenne.—L. 3. L. 472.

a fictitious glory, than in the melancholy drapery of their real history. Hence the chivalric costume and transactions of the day were ascribed to them; and when Walter the Archdeacon went into Bretagne, he found these fabulous narrations afloat. He embodied them into a regular narration, or he translated some collection of them, and gave them to the world as history. Till then, the Breton language had greatly concealed them from the rest of the world. But his Latin work, decorated with the solemn name of History, gave them credit and dignity, and diffused them through Europe, though it did not originate them.

As the Breton tales came into fashion, Arthur became the popular hero<sup>20</sup>; because his countrymen and their descendants were the first romance composers. It is indeed probable, that the Breton tales had become known in England and Normandy before Jeffry published. In Athelstan's time, many Breton nobles and their followers fled from the Norman sword, and sought an asylum in the court of Athelstan; who received them kindly<sup>21</sup>: and between his reign and the Norman conquest, the

<sup>20</sup> We cannot wonder that so many romances were composed about Arthur, when we observe what Alanus de Insulis says of his celebrity in the twelfth century: "Who does not speak of him? He is even more known in Asia than in Britain, as our pilgrims returning from the East assure us. Egypt and the Bosphorus are not silent; Rome, the mistress of cities, sings his actions. Antioch, Armenia, Palestine, celebrate his deeds. Thus was Merlin's prophecy fulfilled." He adds the passage already cited. p. 302.

<sup>21</sup> Athelstan not only received Mathuedoi, the sovereign of Bretagne, whom the Normans had dethroned, but became the sponsor of his son, and educated and nourished him to manhood, and assisted him to regain the throne of his ancestors. Chron. Namnet. Restit. ap. Bouq. p. 276.

vicinity of Normandy and Bretagne, and their frequent intercourse of war and friendship, must have communicated to the Normans some of the popular tales of the Breton nation<sup>22</sup>. The fact, that almost all the heroes of the romances about Arthur may be found in the Welsh triads, or poetry, strengthens the argument, that the romances on Arthur and the round table originated in Bretagne; and that the Welsh and Armorican bards were their first inventors.

Most of the names of the persons and places mentioned in these romances, on Arthur and his knights, are to be found in the ancient Welsh remains that still survive to us, which is a strong indication of their primitive source. The Anglo-Norman poetess, Marie, of the thirteenth century, also declares, that she took her lays from Breton sources<sup>23</sup>; and these mention so many places and persons of Bretagne or Great Britain, as to prove, by their internal evidence, that their original authors must have been from one or other of these countries<sup>24</sup>; and thus her poems

<sup>22</sup> Mr. Ellis says, truly, “The Norman poets themselves frequently profess to have derived their stories from a Breton original. *Early English Metrical Romances*, p. 34.

<sup>23</sup> Marie expressly declares, that she had heard the lays recited, and what she had heard she has rimed

Des lais pensai k’oi aveie—  
Plusurs en ai oi couter  
Ne voil l’aïsser nes oblier;  
Rimez en ai, et fait ditié  
Soventes fiez en ai veillie.

Roquefort Marie, p. 44.

I had selected the passages in which she refers to her Breton authorities, but as I find most of them quoted in the new edition of Warton, lxxvii—lxxxii, I will only quote the pages I had noted: pp. 50. 112. 114. 136. 138. 250. 252. 270. 314. 326. 367. 400. 484. 540. 542. 580.

<sup>24</sup> Thus in Equitain, Nantz, p. 114. In La Frene, Dol, p. 164. In

confirm the former evidence, that the Bretons had bards, poets or minstrels, who composed romantic tales. From all these circumstances, it seems to be a safe historical inference, that the romances on Arthur and the Round Table originated in Bretagne<sup>25</sup>, and most probably entered into that country from Wales.

That in the eleventh century, just before the earliest of these romances appeared, the Breton intellect was in an active and productive state, we may infer from the observation of bishop Otto, who near that period wrote, ‘ Bretagne is full of clerks, who have acute minds, and apply them to the arts<sup>26</sup>.’

The famous Abelard, born before 1100, and his master Roscelin, were Bretons; and Abelard’s father, a Breton knight, was so fond of letters, that though

Lanval, Arthur, Carduel, Logres (Llogyr, the Welch name for England,) the Escos and Pis (the Scots and Picts,) p. 202. Gaiwains and Ivains (Gwalchmar and Owen,) p. 220. D. Cornwall, 234. Avalon, p. 250. In Chevreseuille; Tristram, King Markes, South Wales, Cornuwaile and Tintagel, 388—392. In Eleduc; Bretagne the Mineure, Loegre, Totness, Exeter, 400—58. In Graelent; Bretagne, 486. In D’Ywenec; Caerwent; the Duglas; Incole (Lincoln); Ireland, Caerlien, 272—306. In Milon; South Wales, Northumbre, Southampton, 328—350. In L’Epine; Caerlion, Bretagne, 542; and, in Laustic, the Breton name for the nightingale, and St. Malo, 314, 315.

<sup>25</sup> M. Roquefort is of the same opinion. He remarks, that the greatest part of the persons are Armorican; that the scene is always in Little or Great Britain; and that the Bretons have been so fond of their fairies, as to still have in their country the fairy rock, the fairy grotto, the fairy valley, the fairy fountain, &c. See his *Poesies de Marie*, V. 1. 32—4. He adds, that the Isle of Saine, where the fairies lived; the forest of Brechelians near Quintin, where the tomb of Merlin was placed; the fountain of Barenton, and the wonderful Penon, were all placed in Bretagne. *Ib.* 33.

<sup>26</sup> Otto Fris. c. 47. p. 433.

his son was his eldest child, he would, very unlike the custom of the feudal nobility of other countries, have him well instructed in letters *before* he learnt the use of arms<sup>27</sup>.

These facts imply strongly the cultivation of the Breton mind at that period<sup>28</sup>; and show, that while the love of literature was then dormant all around, it was pervading this peculiar and maritime province, which had a history, an ancestry, and a language different from the rest of France<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> See Abelard's works, as quoted hereafter.

<sup>28</sup> We may also remember, that Turpin's printed book remarks, that of Hoel count of Nantz, and therefore a Breton chief, whom he places with Charlemagne, a ballad was sung, ' Usque in hodiernam diem.' Some MSS. support the application of this passage to Hoel, but most give it to Ogier the Dane.

<sup>29</sup> On this subject two important intimations are given by Pitts and Bale, which we must rather recollect than lean upon. The first mentions, as Warton noticed, that an ' Eremita Britannus, A. D. 720,' wrote on the St. Graal, and on Arthur and on his round table and knights. Pitts, p. 122. Tanner mentions that Bale saw some fragments of this work. Bib. 263. He also, with Pitts ascribes to ' Gildas Quartûes,' whom he places in 860, — ' Works on Arthur—de milite Leonis; de milite Quadrigæ; de Percevallo et Lanceloto; de Galguano et aliis.' p. 122. Pitts, 166. Tanner in his Bib. p. 319. has inserted this Gildas, and these titles of his alleged works. As no MSS. of any of these works exist, the assertions of these bibliographers cannot be taken as historical certainties; yet we have no reason absolutely to reject them. It certainly corresponds with all the probabilities of the subject, that there should be books or tales on Arthur long before Jeffry of Monmouth. The expressions of Wace import strongly that there were many Breton tales about the Round Table, and about Arthur, before his time; which, as he was a contemporary of Jeffry of Monmouth, must have been independent of this history.—Of the Round Table, he says—

Fist Artur la ronde table

*Dunt Breton dient meinte fable.*



The earliest romance that was composed on the subject of Arthur, appears to have been that on Tristan. It seems to have been written in prose, and probably in Latin, if the assertion, that Luces de Gast translated it, be correct<sup>30</sup>; and if in Latin, we must refer it to some of those clerical authors, who appear to have been the first cultivators of every branch of the middle age literature.

It was afterwards versified by Chretien de Troyes, before the twelfth century closed<sup>31</sup>; and, either in prose or verse, must have been in circulation soon after the middle of that period, as it is quoted by a troubadour who was then flourishing<sup>32</sup>. It was

So he remarks, that numerous tales existed of Arthur:

*Tant ont li conture conté  
e lui fablur tant fable  
Pur lui contes enbeler  
Ke tuz les funt a fables tenir.*

MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

As Wace finished his work in 1155, the above is good evidence of Breton tales then abounding, exclusive of Jeffry's book; and as his verbs are in the past tense, the fair inference is, that these tales were of a previous date and origin.

<sup>30</sup> Roquefort dates it in 1170. The MS. in the Royal Library at Paris, N° 6977, ascribes it to Luces. But the one of Rusticien de Pise, mentions Luces as only beginning it. On the subject of the original Tristan, and on the claims preferred by Sir Walter Scott, and disputed on strong grounds by the last editor of Warton, of Thomas the Rymer being its author, I will refer the reader to his poem as published with notes by Sir Walter, and to the remarks added to Warton, I. p. 181—198.

<sup>31</sup> M. Roquefort places his work in 1180. This author died in 1191. Etat Poes. 148.

<sup>32</sup> It is Pons de Capdeuil who thus notices it:—

in the reign of Henry II., whose eldest son, that died in his life time, was, while he lived, Henry III., that the principal romances on the Round Table were translated or composed; and of some of these, Walter Mapes is named as the translator.

This romance was soon followed by the *St. Graal*, *Giron le Courtois*, *Lancelot*, *Mort du Roi Artur*, *Merlin*, and several others<sup>33</sup>.

Domna genser qu'ieu sai,  
Mais vos am ses bausia  
No fetz Tristans s'amia

E nuill pro non hi ai.—Anguis Poet. Fr. 1. p. 17.

Marie also mentions *Tristan*. But for the multifarious facts and reasonings that have been published on this subject, the reader may consult Mr. Warton's history, in the last edition; Mr. Douce and Mr. Park's notes inserted in it; and the works or essays of Mr. G. Ellis, Ritson, Sir Walter Scott, M. Weber, Mons. Roquefort, Le Beuf, Ravalliere, Galland, who, with others, have all thrown some light on this obscure but curious topic.

<sup>33</sup> As some of the prose romances are stated, by their authors or transcribers, to have been written for our king Henry III. I have begged Mr. Douce to favour me with the colophons to some of his Romances, especially as they also make the celebrated Walter Mapes one of their compilers. From his transcript of the colophons, I take the following circumstances. The second part of the *St. Graal*, MS. Bib. Reg. 14. E 3. says these adventures “furent mises en escrit et gardees en l'abeie de Salesbieres dont maistres Gautiers Map traist a faire son livre del *St. Graal* pour l'amour del roi Henri sen seigneur qi fist l'estoire translater de Latin en franchois.”—So the MS. *Tristan*, Bib. Reg. 20. D 2.—The MS. *Mort. d'Artur* of Mr. Douce, gives not only the *San Graal*, but also l'*Estoire de Lancelot*, to Mapes. In Mr. Douce's MS. *Mort de Tristan*, the author ascribes his work to the request of li rois Henri 3. d'Angleterre. He calls himself Helies de Borron, and mentions Messrs. Lucez and Robert de Baron as writing on these subjects, and Gautier Maz qui fist le propre livre de *Lancelot*. In the prologue to the first edition of *Tristan*, the author says, “Je Luce Chevalier Seigneur du Chateau de Gast, voisin prochain de

CHAP.  
V.ROMANCES  
UPON  
ARTHUR  
AND THE  
ROUND  
TABLE.

Salesbieres en Angleterre ay voulu rediger," &c.—In the romance of Meliadus de Leonnois, its author, Rusticien de Pise, speaks of finishing (I presume in prose) le livre du Brut, and that Henry was charmed with it. He says Lucas de Jau began to translate a part of the Tristran into French; that Gasses le blanc qui estoit parent au roi Henry afterwards took it up; and after him, Gautier Map; qui fu chevalier le roy et devisa l'hystoire de Lancelot du Lac; that Robert de Borron applied to it, et Helye de Borron par la Priere du dit Robert de Borron. He mentions again his Brut—He expatiates again on the pleasure Henry took in these works; he invites poor as well as rich to read them; and declares he found them in Latin. He says, he sees that les plus sages et les plus prizez d'Angleterre sont ardans et desirans to hear these deeds, and that Henry had given him deux beaulx chasteaulx. He asks what name he shall give his book, and he adds, such as shall please King Henry, who desired, that as it was to treat on courtesy, it might begin with Palamedes, than whom there was nul plus courtois chevalier.—The romance of Giron le Courtois, the same author, Rusticiens de Puise, says he compiled from the book of his lord Edward I. when he went to Palestine.—The above is probably all we can now know of the authors or translators of the prose romances.—The MS. prose Romans of the late duke of Roxbrough contained similar colophons.

Some writers doubt if Luce, the Borrons and Rusticien, be real authors; but the doubt is mere surmise. There is no evidence to contradict the enumeration made by Rusticien, of the authors who had preceded him, nor to disprove his own reality. I do not see any sufficient reason for the actual authors hiding themselves in that age under the guise of fictitious personages. This is quite different from the case of ascribing works to persons of former celebrity or of known importance.

We may add to the above remarks, that at the end of one of the MSS. in the Royal library at Paris, Cod. 6783, on Lancelot du Lac, occur these words: 'Mes en Francois par Robert de Borron, par le commandement de Henri roi d'Angleterre.' Add. to Warton, V. 1. p. 160. The translation of such a French romance, by Henry Lonelich Skynner, in Bennet college library, Cambridge, which has been introduced to us by the editor of the last edition of Warton, thus mentions Borron:—

Wiche that Maister Robert of Borrown

Out of Latyn it transletted hol and soun

Onlich into the langage of Frawnce.—1 War. p. 154.

BOOK  
II.  
LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

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All the above authorities that refer any of these works to Walter Mapes, show that the Henry spoken of, is either Henry II. or his son Henry, who was crowned in his life-time, and therefore who was, while he lived, Henry III. Our antiquaries must recollect this, when Henry III. is mentioned in the old romances, as this expression is applicable to him as well as to the historical Henry III. and other circumstances must determine which of these two kings is the person really meant. It is too common and too natural, without this remembrance, to ascribe, as Mr. Warton and most have done, all these references to John's son, Henry III.

## CHAP. VI.

*On Turpin's History of Charlemagne, and the Romances upon this Emperor and his Peers; and on Alexander.*

ANOTHER class of romances, which amused the grave and gay in the first part of the middle ages, were those which were connected with Charlemagne. These do not seem to have been popular in England, nor among the Anglo-Normans; but as they form an inseparable branch of the fictitious compositions of this period; as one historical romance connects his exploits with our island<sup>1</sup>; as they have always received some attention from our antiquaries, and as some points about them have not yet been correctly elucidated, a few pages of this history will be occupied by their consideration.

CHAP.  
VI.

They have been usually supposed to have originated from the fabulous history which appeared on the continent as the account of the actions of Charlemagne, under the name of Turpin, archbishop of Rheims, as the MSS. of the work usually name him<sup>2</sup>; but of Tulpin, as he is called in the first part of one MS. at Vienna<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This circumstance is detailed in the following note<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> This work was first printed in the Germ. Rer. Quat. Frankf. 1566, and again in the Vet. Script. Germ. Reuberi, Hanov. 1619. Mr. Warton thought it was compiled after the Crusades.

<sup>1</sup> Diss. p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Lambecius has described this MS. in his Bib. Cæs. V. 2. p. 329—334. The first part names him Tulpin, in an account



## BOOK

## II.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

That there was an archbishop of Rheims named Tilpin in the time of Charlemagne, is clear, from the pope's letter addressed to him, and from his epitaph recorded by Flodoard<sup>4</sup>, whose History of Rheims ends about 966, at which time its author lived. But the facts, that such a person, with such a name, did exist, seem to be all that is true in this once applauded work<sup>5</sup>.

It has been a matter of much debate, when the real author of this work lived, and at what time it first became known. Erroneously placed in the tenth century by one person<sup>6</sup>, it has been since consigned more justly to the twelfth. A prose romance<sup>7</sup> was

taken from his book; but it is followed by the actual work, and in that he is called Turpin, as in every other copy of it that I have seen.

<sup>4</sup> Flodoard, in his History of the Church at Rheims, has inserted extracts from the Pope's epistles to Tilpin, in his l. 2. c. 13. 16 and 17. Hincmar composed his epitaph, which states him to have been above forty years in his see. 16 Mag. Bib. Pat. p. 671. Charlemagne obtained the pall for him from Adrian. Ib. Tilpin came to this see from St. Denys. Ib. p. 670.

<sup>5</sup> Le Beuf remarks that the real Turpin died twenty years before Charlemagne, instead of surviving him, as the fabulous Turpin states. Hist. Acad. v. 10. p. 249.

<sup>6</sup> Masca in his Hist. Bearn. This date was on the apparent authority of one Julian, who pretended to have lived in 1160. But Antonio shows that all Julian's works are supposititious. Le Beuf, ib. 252.

<sup>7</sup> The MS. of this in the British Museum says, "Rainald de Boloine—la fist en romanz translater del Latin a duze cens ans del incarnation. MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11. It mentions that Rainald wished it to be written without rime, as if rimed romances on the same subject were then extant. Le Beuf mentions a MS. which says, that Renauz de Boloigne sought for it among the books of St. Denys, and translated it en romance, 1206. p. 363. And another MS. which declares that Michael de Harness inquired for

taken from it, which expresses its own date to have been 1200. But a little before this year, a prior of Vigeeis prefixed to his transcript of it a preface, in which he says, it had been then lately brought to him out of Spain<sup>8</sup>. It is, however, mentioned still earlier than this, in a MS. history of Charlemagne in the Vienna library, which was composed about 1170, in which the writer refers to it; as what he had seen at St. Denys in France<sup>9</sup>.

CHAP.  
VI.  
TURPIN'S  
HISTORY OF  
CHARLE-  
MAGNE.

An allusion to Roland and his sword, in Rodulf Tortaire, would, from the time he lived, place it before 1135<sup>10</sup>. No direct information carries it to an earlier period than this, except that which connects it with pope Calixtus II.

As to its genuine author, besides the mere speculation among the books of Reenaut, count of Bologne, and translated it from Latin to Romanz, in 1207. *Ib.* 362.

<sup>8</sup> 'Nuper ad nos ex Esperia delatos gratanter excepi.' Gaufridus Vos. ap Oienhart Vascon, p. 398.

<sup>9</sup> Lambecius describes it as the 9th Codex. The preface to its third book says, "We begin with that epistle which we found in the chronicle of the Franks at St. Denys, in France, which Tulpinus, abp. of Rheims, had transmitted to Leoprand."—And the five following chapters are obviously taken from Turpin's book. *Lamb.* 2. p. 332.

<sup>10</sup> Le Beuf has quoted the poem, in the Vatican, of Rodulfe Tortaire, who lived in our Henry the first's time. It thus mentions Roland and his sword—

Ingreditur patrium gressu properante cabiculum,  
Diripit a clavo, clamque patris gladium.  
Rutlandi fuit iste, viri virtute potentis  
Quem patruus magnus Karolus, huic dederat,  
Et Rutlandus eo semper pugnare solebat,  
Millia pagani multa necans populi.

This quotation places the story of Roland before 1135, when our Henry I. died. See Abbé le Beuf's dissertation in 10 *Hist. Acad. Inscr.* p. 245. Yet it is possible that this incident may have been a part of the popular tales about Roland.

lations of Grypheander<sup>11</sup>, and of those who would make him a Spaniard<sup>12</sup>, as others think it betrays a Breton hand<sup>13</sup>, the most important is the specific assertion of Guy Allard, that its proper date is 1092, and that it was written at Vienne, by a monk of St. Andrie<sup>14</sup>.

The passage in Wace, that a minstrel preceded William's army at the battle of Hastings, singing on Charlemagne, Roland, Oliver, and the vassals who died at Charlemagne<sup>15</sup>, seems to be reasonable evidence that he had this work in his mind when he

<sup>11</sup> This writer would ascribe it to Robertus de Monte, one of the historians of the first Crusade. See his *Weichb. Sax.* p. 50.

<sup>12</sup> *Le Beuf*, *Ib.* p. 253.—The prose MS. life of Charlemagne in the British Museum, *Bib. Reg.* 4. c. 11. begins with saying, that those who wish, may oir la verite de Espane sulunc le latin del estoire, &c. That the Spaniards had traditions about Charlemagne, we learn from Roderic Toletanus. He rejects the accounts of Charlemagne's victories in Spain, as fables; but he mentions, without discrediting it, the tale of his banishment by his father Pepin, his asylum with Galafer, the Arab king of Toledo, and the marriage of this king's daughter. *Rod. Tol.* l. 4. c. 11. Gaufridus, the prior of Vosges, who wrote a little before 1200, received it from Spain. See before, note <sup>8</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> See M. Leyden's *Complaynt of Scotland*, *Dissert.* p. 263. and Mr. Ellis's remarks, 2 *Spec. Romances*, p. 287.

<sup>14</sup> *Hist. Dauph.* 224.—It is to be regretted that this very concise author has given no reasons or evidence for his opinion. It stands as a mere *ipse dixit*; and yet he writes as if he had facts in his knowledge, from which he formed it. It is obviously not like Grypheander's, a mere speculation.

<sup>15</sup> This passage, often quoted, is—

Taillifer qui mult bien chantout  
Sor un cheval qi tost alout  
Devant le duc alout chantant  
De Karlemaigne e de Rollant  
E d' Oliver e des vassalls

Qi morurent en Roncevalz.—*B. R.* 4. c. 11.

composed his own, which he dates in 1155; and this is supposed to be but a more descriptive account of the analogous fact mentioned by Malmsbury, that the 'Cantilena Rollandi' was so begun<sup>16</sup>; and the inference has been made that Turpin's book preceded even William's expedition.

CHAP.  
VI.

TURPIN'S  
HISTORY OF  
CHARLE-  
MAGNE.

But to this supposition two objections may be made; one, that ballads may have existed on Roland and Charlemagne before Turpin's book was composed; and the other, which I have ventured to suggest, that the Norman Roland may not have been the warrior and nephew of Charlemagne.

On the first point it is acknowledged, in Turpin's work, that songs on one of his heroes were in existence anterior to his writing<sup>17</sup>. Another chapter of

<sup>16</sup> Malmsbury's words are, *tunc cantilena Rollandi inchoata*, that the warlike example of this man might excite them to the conflict. p. 101.

<sup>17</sup> The passage in Turpin is, 'De hoc canetur in cantilena usque hodiernam diem.' c. 11. The question now is, of whom is this spoken? In the two printed copies, and in one MS. in the British Museum, these words are applied to Oel, a Breton chief; but Mr. Douce remarks, that in the best MSS. of Turpin, the above expressions refer to Oger, king of Denmark, of whom a long romance, written originally in rime, still exists. Warton, V. 1. p. xxi. new ed. The old parchment MS. Harl. 108, and the paper MS. Titus, A 19. add them to Naaman, the dux Bajoariæ. Two others omit the words on the song. But the parchment MSS. Bib. Reg. 13. D 1. and Nero, A 11. and the paper MS. (which two last are the most complete MSS. of Turpin, and the document connected with him, that I have seen,) connect the words with Ogier; so does the MS. mentioned by Le Beuf, v. 10. p. 249. I observe that the MSS. which ascribe the song to Ogier, have the passage more complete and full than the others which either omit it or give it to Oel or Hoel, and which make no mention of Ogier in it. Hence I think the evidence at present preponderates in favour of Ogier being the person alluded to as the subject of these

his work alludes to other fabulous narrations about Charlemagne, as if then well known, though he would not describe them<sup>18</sup>. An ancient authority has been already quoted, to prove that the minstrels had made earlier romances on some of the warriors of the age and court of Charlemagne<sup>19</sup>.

The idea of the twelve peers of France certainly did not originate from Turpin's book<sup>20</sup>; and one string of fiction, the conquest of England by Charlemagne<sup>21</sup>, though generally noticed by him, is not

songs. If so, he may be derived from Ingwar, also called Igwar, the celebrated son of Ragner Lodbrog.

<sup>18</sup> Turpin, c. 20. Warton has pointed our attention to this. The passage mentions, that how Charlemagne killed Braimant, a great and superb king of the Saracens; acquired many lands and cities; built abbeys and churches all over the world; and went to the Holy Sepulchre, 'scribere nequo,' because the hand and pen would fail sooner than the history. p. 80. We know that there was an earlier account of this visit to the Holy Land. See *Le Beuf*, v. 10. p. 238.

<sup>19</sup> See before, p. 270, note <sup>22</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> The peers of France are said to be mentioned by Flodoard in his History, who lived in 960. I have not found the passage in him; but I observe that the nobility of France were anciently so called, not as peers to their king, but as peers or equals as to each other. 3 *Du Cange Gloss.* 137. 'Two of our chroniclers mention the twelve peers of France as the number by which each peer was to be judged. *M. Paris*, an. 1226; and *Knyghton*, says, 'ad modum Franciæ 12 pares tum ordinavisse Scotos.' So *Raimond*, count of Toulouse, was ordered to undergo the 'judicium duodecim parium Galliæ.' *M. Paris*. We find from the 'Regesto Parliamenti,' that 'au temps ancient n'avoit que 12 pairs en France.' These are mentioned all of the highest rank; six lay and six clerical. *Du Cange*, p. 143. Hence it is clear that the twelve peers of France were known in that country as a part of its constitutional nobility before Turpin or Jeffry, and most probably as early, at least, as Charlemagne.

<sup>21</sup> Turpin merely says, 'diversa regna Angliam Galliam,' and many others, 'invincibili brachio suo potentia suæ adquesivit.' c. 2.



presented in his work in that circumstantial detail which others have given, and which therefore they must have derived from other sources<sup>22</sup>. Rimed romances on Charlemagne certainly exist, the time of whose first appearance is not known<sup>23</sup>.

CHAP.  
VI.  
TURPIN'S  
HISTORY OF  
CHARLE-  
MAGNE.

Some of the prose compositions on this subject brand the rimed ones as falsehoods<sup>24</sup>. and boldly, although themselves as chimerical, claim to be authentic history<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> I allude here particularly to the German Chronicon of Mutius, who lived soon after 1500. In this work, which Pistorius thought it worth while to print, little is taken from the exploits in Turpin; but two folio pages and a half are devoted to the exploits of Adolphus, the lieutenant of Charlemagne, sent by him to make war on the rebellious Saxons, Angles, and Britons, in England. I remark that the incidents resemble those of Julius Cæsar's first invasion. The battle in the sea; the landing; the flight, and further conflicts; the storm, and the submission of the island: all which are applied, with some new colouring, to Adolphus. It would be interesting to find out from what ballads or pseudo-Turpin such gratuitous fictions were derived; and so gravely stated, as to be narrated by Mutius as sober history. L. 8. p. 64.

<sup>23</sup> Two of these are in the British Museum, MS. Bib. Reg. 15. E 6. One beginning,

Or entendez seigneurs que Dieu vous benie  
Le glorieux de ciel le filz sainte Marie.

The other opening with,

Plaise vous ecouter bonne chancon vaillant  
De Charlemaine le riche roy puissant.

<sup>24</sup> The Harl. MS. of the French prose translation of Turpin's History, N° 273, has this passage: 'Pour eeo que estoire rimée semble mensunge, est ceste mis en prose, selon le latin que Turpin memes fist.' The old romance, quoted by Warton, has also, 'Nuz contes rymez n'en est vrais. Tot mensonge ce qu'il dient.' 1 Hist. p. 139.

<sup>25</sup> In the British Museum, Bib. Reg. 13. A 18. is a MS. of the fourteenth century, containing the history of Turpin, in Latin rime. The verses are hexameters, that rime usually in couplets,

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

The pretension is absurd, but it leads us to infer that the poems must be older than the prose.

These facts preclude us from making Turpin the original of all the romances on Charlemagne, and separate from his book the song that was chaunted at the battle of Hastings. My doubt, if this was taken from any ballad of Charlemagne's hero, arose from a conception, that it was not likely that William would order a ballad on a knight who had perished in Spain, to be sung as an incentive to the courage of his army. It was more probable, that it was a popular song on some Norman successful hero; and as the great leader of the Normans who invaded France, as he was invading England, and who established his countrymen in Normandy, was Hrolfr, or Rollo, and as I found that he was called in one old chronicler *Rolandus*<sup>26</sup>, it seemed to me to look more like truth to infer that the war-song related to him, a real and victorious conqueror, and not to a fictitious personage, not nationally interesting to the Normans; who, instead of gaining a triumph, fell disastrously in his adventure, and would therefore rather be an omen of discouragement to all William's

but several only in the middle. It corresponds with the prose Latin of Turpin, and has the passage on the arts. It begins,

Versibus exametris, insignia gesta virorum  
Metricare libet, celeberrima corpora quorum;

and ends,

Hoc opus exegi, Summo sit gloria regi  
Auxilio cujus, operis sum redditor hujus—  
Et quia gesta refert Karoli . . . iste libellus  
Imponatur ei proprium nomen Karolellus.

<sup>26</sup> It was in the *Chronicon* of T. Wikes that I saw this passage, 'Willielmus Lung-espeye filii *Rolandi* qui fuit primus dux Normannorum.' *Gale Script. Angl.* v. 2. p. 22.

soldiery. It concurs with this idea that the historian declares, that the success of his ancestor Rollo was one of the topics of the speech with which he addressed the army before that decisive battle<sup>27</sup>. For these reasons it may be believed, that the minstrels war-song at the battle of Hastings, was not derived from the history of Turpin.

The most authentic date that any ancient authority has annexed to this fabulous work, is that of the *Magnum Chronicon Belgicum*, which asserts, that in 1122 it was declared to be authentic by pope Calixtus II<sup>28</sup>.

This circumstance seems to give it a little priority to Jeffry's *British History*, which was certainly given

<sup>27</sup> See this in *Hen. Hunt.* p. 368, and in 2 *Anglo Sax.* 407. 4th ed. It may be a question, if the Roland of romance did not originate from this Rollo? That the scalds or poets who sung on the Northmen warriors, made verses on Rollo, we may infer from their having done so on his chief contemporaries; and that his life was romantic enough to be the subject of romantic ballads, is evident from what we have before recorded of him, vol. 1. p. 61—5. This Rollo married the daughter of Charles, then king of France. *ib.* 65. Of the romance Roland, Turpin says, that his father was duke Milo de Angleriis, who had married the sister of Charlemagne. We may here remark, that one of Arthur's knights was called Mael. 1 *Angl. Sax.* 277. 4th ed. Turpin says there was also another Roland, 'de quo nobis nunc silendum est.' The romancers so confused history in their tales, that it is difficult to trace the origin of their fancies.

<sup>28</sup> This important passage is, 'Idem Calixtus papa fecit libellum de miraculis S<sup>i</sup> Jacobi et statuit historiam Sancti Caroli descriptam a beato Turpino Remensi archiepiscopo esse authenticam. Hæc ex Chronicis.' p. 150. *Rer. Germ. Vet. Pist.*

The same fact is mentioned by *Vincen. Belov. Spec. Hist.* l. 26. c. 32; and by *Werner, Rolvinck Fascicul. Temp.* p. 75; and in the *Harleian MS.* N<sup>o</sup> 108; and in the *Cambridge MS. Coll. Benedict.*

to the world before 1139<sup>29</sup>, and was probably published before the year 1128<sup>30</sup>. I have formerly doubted, if Turpin's work was known anterior to this date; but some late researches have satisfied my mind, that Turpin's work was in existence before the death of Calixtus in 1124, and that this pontiff not only sanctioned, but also published it; that he either wrote it, or caused it to be written, and that his authority gave it the celebrity which produced its rapid circulation and credit, and the numerous romances that either sprung from it, or were eagerly attached to it<sup>31</sup>. The popes motives appear to have been,

<sup>29</sup> In this year, Henry of Huntingdon says he saw it in the Abbey of Bec. See his Letter to Warinus, Harl. MS. N° 1018.

<sup>30</sup> I ground this date upon the following reasoning. Alured of Beverley ends his history in the twenty-ninth year of Henry I. and in his proemium says, he carries it down to the 28th year; and that he wrote it in the days of his silence, when by a decree of the Council of London he ceased from his sacerdotal functions invitatus, and among many excommunicated. This exactly suits the twenty-ninth year of Henry I. or 1129, when the council held at London suspended all married archdeacons and priests. He says, that his great object in writing his history, was to give an account of the *Historia Britonum*, then so exceedingly popular; that he had searched carefully for this history, which contained things that no other historian had mentioned; that he had found it, and given the substance of it. This is a neat abridgment of Jeffry's History. So that on this reasoning Jeffry's work must have appeared at least in 1128.

<sup>31</sup> The reasonings and MSS. on which I have formed and grounded this opinion, will be stated in the Appendix to this Chapter. Since it occurred to me from these circumstances, I find that a similar idea has been mentioned by Oudin, in his *Comment. Scrip.* 2. p. 69; but only to be rejected by others.—I cannot get Oudin's work, to know from himself the foundation of his belief; but I learn from the Bollandist editor of the *Acta Sanctorum*, that it was built on the words of the Cambridge MS. which will be noticed in the Appendix. But here let me protest

the recommendation of the shrine and church of St. James, in Gallicia; the direction of the military mind of Europe to attack the mussulmen in Spain; and the excitement of the German emperors to imitate Charlemagne in his alleged warfare against the Mahomedan powers, and in his regard for the Roman pontiff, whom he had protected against their assailing enemies, the Lombards.

One of Turpin's heroes, though not peculiarly distinguished by him, Oger, the king of Denmark, was anciently made the subject of a distinct romance<sup>33</sup>. But this shows itself to have been posterior to Jeffry's British History, and the Breton and Welsh tales about Arthur, by exhibiting him in the fairy land with Arthur and his friend Morgana. The British prince determined to throw him out of it. The 'baron Oger' persisted in entering, but 'the good king Arthur' as resolutely forbade him<sup>32</sup>. As there

against the outrageous language of this too zealous catholic against Oudin, for daring to surmise such a thing of a sainted pope. He calls him an heretic, and an 'infelix apostata.' Acta Sanct. July, V. 2. p. 44. Such an appellation on such a subject dishonours more him who applies it than the person to whom it is applied.

<sup>33</sup> A copy is in the MSS. of the British Museum, Bib. Reg. 15. E 6.

<sup>34</sup> Two passages express these ideas in a rhythm, which, although so ancient, is nearly as good as Voltaire's *Henriade*:—

Or est le Ber Oger par dedens faerie  
Avec le roy Artus et Morgue son amie,  
Gloriant, Orient, Saturnus, et Jouvé.

- - - - -

Vouloit le roy Artus getter hors de faerie  
Et ye vouloit entrer a toute sa mesquerie  
Mais le bon roy Artus le deffent et destrie.

MS. 1526.

On this subject we may recollect that an old work was printed in 1548, intituled, 'Visions d'Ogeir le Danoi au royaume de Faerie en vers Francois.' 1 Wart. 140.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

appear to be some reasons for thinking this Oger to be one of the warriors celebrated in the Scandinavian traditions and tales <sup>35</sup>, his name and adventures may have come into Normandy with Rollo and his scalds; and some of the ballads and romances that were attached to Charlemagne and his peers, may have originated from this source <sup>36</sup>.

Among the other romances of this class, two of the most celebrated among the Anglo-Normans, and abroad, were the *Gestes de Garin*, and the *Quatre fils d'Aymon*. Both of these display much talent in this species of composition, and are not even yet without interest to those who love to trace the spirit, catch the thoughts, and follow the feelings of their ancestors. It favours our idea of the intellectual connection between the bardic mind of Wales and Breton, and these heroic romances, that both of these extolled warriors, Garin and Aymon, were Norman chieftains, who fought and conquered in the marches of Wales <sup>37</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> See Warton, 1 Dissert. lx. and his last editor's note, p. xxi.; and Bartholin. *Antiq. Dan.* p. 578—9.

<sup>36</sup> That in the Faron monastery an ancient sword was kept and shown as the weapon of one Otger, a Dane, Mabillon confesses, as quoted by Bartholin, p. 579: on its blade were the gilt effigies of a lion and an eagle. Its inscription had fourteen gilt and engraved characters, but was too much obliterated to be read with certainty. But Mabillon, erroneously thinking that Otger was known only from Turpin's history, denies its application to the Danish hero, and assigns it to 'Austrasiis.' *Ib.*

If there were songs about Ogier before Turpin, as there are before our eyes old romances concerning him, this weapon may have been ascribed to this personage by popular tradition; though, whether he be the same with Ingwar, as I have hinted, or Holger, or any other Danish champion, I will not pretend to decide.

<sup>37</sup> Guarinus was made the vice-comes of Shropshire, in the time of the Conqueror. 2 Hoare *Giral.* 177; and on the actions

But to enlarge upon the romances of the peers of Charlemagne, would occasion too wide a digression from the direct course of the present history. Emulating spirits emerged in abundance during the thirteenth century to compose them<sup>38</sup>, and were as fertile in fancy and feeling, and far more picturesque, and often more natural, than the founders of the new school that superseded them, Scudery and Lacalpremade, exhibited themselves to be in these endless volumes of sentimental lore and falsified history, which delighted the world four hundred years afterwards. New fashions of fiction, and new genius to narrate them, have since arisen, blazed and disappeared. But it is pleasing to observe, that some of the best, and even the oldest, aim to uphold the morals, and to improve the manners and character of their contemporaries.

of himself and his family, see *ib.* 195. and *Lel. Coll.* 1. p. 231. Fitzhamon was the Norman chief and kinsman of William I. who conquered Glamorgan, and parcelled out various lordships and manors to each of the twelve knights who had accompanied him, reserving to himself the castle of Cardiff. Hoare, *ib.* 1. p. 126. Leland calls him, Haymo, erle of Gloucester. *Itin.* V. 4. p. 54. He was earl of Astremeville in Normandy, and was buried 1102, in the abbey of Tewkesbury, which he had founded. Hoare, *ib.* 131. His eldest daughter married the earl of Gloucester, who fought against Stephen, and so greatly patronized Anglo-Norman literature.

<sup>38</sup> Adans, or Adenez, the poet of the duke of Brabant, who died in 1260, went into France, and wrote his *Cleomades* and *Enfances*, *Ogier le Danois*, *Aymeri de Narbonne*, and *Berthe et Repin*, which are still in MS. in the Royal Library at Paris. Hacon de Villeneuve, after 1200, was the author of *Regnauld de Montauban*, and *Garnier de Nanteuil*. To him are ascribed the *Quatre fils d'Aimon*, *Maugis d'Aigremont*, and *Beuves*. *Roquef.* 139, 140. But Warton's Dissertation, and his History of Poetry, and his last editor's notes, deserve our perusal and thanks on these subjects.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

How early this noble spirit actuated the ancient romance writers, we may infer from this admirable passage in the beginning of the ancient French Turpin, which the author gives as his reason for composing his work ; ‘ Good examples teach how men should behave towards God, and how they should act honorably in this age ; FOR TO LIVE WITHOUT HONOR IS TO DIE <sup>39</sup>.’

Romances  
on Alex-  
ander.

The story of Alexander about the same time began to interest the poetical and lettered clergy, who were the prolific authors of these ancient romances. Some wrote on it impressively in Latin<sup>40</sup>, and others in Romanz or ancient French<sup>41</sup>. But as this has no particular connexion with Anglo-Norman poetry, it is unnecessary to pursue this branch of the inquiry<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> Les bons ensamples enseignent cument home se deit aver ou Deu ; et se cuntenir oneurablement en siecle. Car vivre sans honeur, est morir. Harl MS. N° 273.

<sup>40</sup> Gualter de Castellione wrote the *Alexandreis*, a poem in ten books, each beginning with a letter of the name of Guillelmus, to whom he addressed it, and who was archbishop of Rheims between 1176 and 1201. It was in such request in 1280, that the reading of the classical poets was neglected for it. Fabricius Bib. Med. Lat. 7. p. 328 ; and see Warton's *Hist.* V. 1. p. 132.

<sup>41</sup> See these mentioned by Fauchet des Poet. Franc.—One of the authors, Lambert li Cors, calls himself un clers de Chasteaudun. p. 83 ; he, and Alexandre de Paris, are stated to have produced the roman on Alexander in 1184. Roquef. p. 158. On this subject Mr. Weber's *Metrical Romances* may be consulted. His first volume contains the English romance of Kyng Alisaunder. His introduction and notes deserve perusal ; and his undertaking, applause and countenance. The prose romance of Alexander is one of the ancient romances, with beautiful ancient drawings, coloured gilt in the MSS. Bib. Reg. 15. E 6.

<sup>42</sup> Of the roman de Florimon, one of those connected with Alexander, and written by Aymon de Chatillon, the MS. in the Harleian Library, N° 3983, will, when inspected by any one, be seen to be the same MS. which M. Galland inspected at Paris, in

Nor have we any necessity of noticing in detail the other Trouveurs, or composers of romans, who flourished in the end of the twelfth century<sup>43</sup>. It is sufficient to remark, that the earliest romans we have, were written between the end of the reign of our Henry I. and the accession of our John; and that some of them were either composed by Anglo-Normans, or by authors who visited the court of the Anglo-Norman sovereigns. The taste for fictitious narrations, which began in the twelfth century, continued through the next, and was cherished by Henry II. and his short-reigning son, who was called Henry III. and afterwards by his grandson, the historical Henry III. But they soon became distinguished from real history<sup>44</sup>, and were pursued as a distinct species of composition.

the library of M. Foucault, and which he describes as *un peu effacé*. 3 Mem. Ac. Ins. p. 479. He mentions the date of the composition as 1180 in another copy. I think this the true date. The Harleian MS. has 1124 in figures: this was probably the transcriber's mistaking quatre vingt for 24, when he transferred it into figures.

<sup>43</sup> As Chretien de Troyes, Raoul de Beauvais, &c. On this subject, Mr. Warton's History, V. 1. p. 114—150, last ed. should be read, and his valuable researches there and elsewhere fairly appreciated. The roman of Guy of Warwick is in French prose, in the Bib. Reg. 15. E 6. and in rimed French verse, 8. F 9. Hearne has printed the account of Guy of Warwick, as told by Girard Cornubiensis, at the end of his Chronicon of Dunstaple. The story is also in Knyghton, 2324; and see Warton's Hist. 1. p. 146.

<sup>44</sup> Thus Chardre declares, that in the life of his Saint he will not trover in fables, and alludes to some romans as such—

Ne voil pas en fables trover—

Ne ja sachez ne parlerum

Ne de Tristram ne de Galerum

Ne de Renard ne de Hersente

Ne voil pas mettre mentente.—MS. Calig. A 9.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

## APPENDIX.

*On the Author of Turpin's History of Charlemagne.*

THE various opinions that have been entertained on this point of antiquarian and bibliographical research have been already noticed; but it has always remained so much in doubt, that Schmink, in his valuable edition of Eginhart, after all his pains to discover who was the fabulous competitor of this true historian of Charlemagne, could only express his own conviction, that it was written when the crusades had been instituted, and then leave the subject for others to draw it out of what he calls, its impenetrable obscurity. p. 8.

The conclusion to which my own inquiries have led me, I have found mentioned but by one preceding author, Oudin, whose opinion has been noticed only to be discredited.

I was not aware that he had entertained it, when the combination of the evidence that I found, impelled my own mind to it. But I think it is the just one; and to induce others to consider if it be not so, I will state the train of thought as it has occurred, which has inclined me to believe that this work owes its origin to pope Calixtus II. and was published and authenticated by him, and was written by him, or under his directions, to promote views that he believed to be important and beneficial to society, though he chose to follow the bad taste of the age in advancing them by a supposititious work.

Searching to ascertain whether the Turpin or Jeffry's British History was the most ancient, I saw that Mons. Roquefort had, like Ginguené, adopted Warton's assertion, that pope Calixtus had, in 1122, declared the book to be genuine; and as I was at first inclined to doubt if Turpin's book was written so early, I was

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So Denis Piramus says of the Parthenope—

Si dist il bien de cele matiere

Cum de fable e de menceonge

La matire ressemble suonge.

On the same ground he remarks of Marie's Lays—

Ke ne sunt pas de tut vrais.—MS. Dom. A 11.



desirous to look into the authorities on which Warton had grounded his fact. CHAP. VI.

He quoted for it the *Magnum Chronicon Bellicum*, with a direction to compare Long's *Bibliothèque* and *Lambecius*. I did so, and found no mention of the circumstance in the two latter; but that the *Belgic Chronicle* thus states it, as I have cited in the preceding note (28),—‘*Idem Calixtus Papa fecit libellum de miraculis S. Jacobi et statuit historiam Sancti Caroli descriptam a beato Turpino Remensi archiepiscopo esse authenticam. Hæc ex Chronicis.*’ *Rer. Germ. Pist.* p. 150. TURPIN'S  
HISTORY OF  
CHARLE-  
MAGNE.

This old chronicle thus asserts the fact, and refers to other preceding chronicles upon it: these earlier chronicles I have not been able to trace. I find the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincentius Bellovacensis referred to by others, as also ascribing it to Calixtus. He wrote about 1248. I have examined the ponderous folio MS. of his first seventeen books, but these do not mention it, and the British Museum does not contain his latter ones, in which must be what he has said about Pope Calixtus and Turpin.

The earliest chronicle after the Belgic one that alludes to this work is that of Werner Rolvinck. This author, in his *Fasciculus Temporum*, written about 1490, has this passage on Calixtus; ‘*Fecit libellum de miraculis Sancti Jacobi. Statuit etiam historiam Caroli descriptam a beato Turpino.*’ p. 75.

Schmink says that Siffredus Misnensis, and Gobelinus Persona, have followed the *Magnum Chronicon*. p. 81.

These authorities were sufficient to indispose me from hastily discrediting the asserted fact, that Calixtus had sanctioned the work; but made me curious to discover why he should meddle with it.

I read over Turpin's history of Charlemagne again. It was clearly no part of his general and authentic history, nor of any other known tradition; but it was an account of his pretended exploits in Spain, added to all that before had been truly narrated or popularly circulated about him. Its greatest object appeared manifestly to be, to exalt the fame of St. James of Spain, and to recommend devotions to him there, not generally as an apostle, but specially to his asserted relics and church at Compostella in Galicia. I remembered how fashionable a thing it became in England to make pilgrimages to him there during the middle ages, as I have already noticed (vol. 4. p. 64.) and I became more interested in the inquiry.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

Turpin's book begins with the appearance of St. James in a dream to Charlemagne, to inform him that the saint's body lay buried in Galicia, in the power of the Saracens, and to urge him to deliver that province from their sway. The emperor obeys; and in the next chapter St. James, by miraculous aid, gives him Pampeluna and Galicia. He builds churches to the saint from gratitude and devotion; and a long chapter is employed in describing his visit to the city of Saint James in Spain. It is obvious that the subjection of the mussulmen in Spain, and the recommendation of Saint James's church, city, and relics there, and the celebrity given to Charlemagne for having exerted himself on these objects, are the main topics and the manifest drift of the work, and were the motives that induced the author to compose it.

But how was pope Calixtus connected with these points more than any other pope, or than any other individual? Le Beuf's idea at first seemed more natural, that a Spanish canon, to exalt his own order and country, was the author; and yet Calixtus, who reigned in St. Peter's chair scarcely six years, from 1119 to 1124, was declared to have pronounced this book to be authentic.

Both the Belgic Chronicle and Rolvinck mentioned that this pope had composed a book on the miracles of St. James. Was this so? Here was the first point of inquiry, and my researches into it removed all doubt of this fact. Trithemius, in his Script. p. 270, mentions that he wrote such a book; and again, in his Chron. p. 111. adding that he composed it 'when he was yet a scholar, as he confesses in it.' The same work is also ascribed to him by Paulus Langf. Mon. p. 785, referring to Vincentius. But the most satisfactory evidence of this to my mind, was the language of cardinal Baronius, the most orthodox historian and zealous supporter of the papal see. He says, 'Fuit plane studiosissimus S<sup>i</sup> Jacobi Compostellani et de ejus miraculis volumen confecit,' from which he adds, 'Vincentius inserted some things in his Speculum Historiale.' V. 12. p. 145.

That this pope peculiarly attached himself, not to St. James generally as an apostle, but to St. James as revered in Galicia in Spain, and sought peculiarly to recommend and advance his shrine, relics and church, at Compostella, other testimonies concurred to prove. He made the bishop of St. James a metropolitan, or archbishop. He published an order, that Englishmen might go on a pilgrimage to his church in Galicia, and have even all the benefits from it that they would derive from performing one to Rome,

provided they went *twice* to St. James for one journey to St. Peter's. Baron. v. 12. p. 144, 5. He wrote also four 'Sermones' on St. James, which the able Jesuit and historian, Mariana, found in an old MS. and which the ecclesiastical editors of the valuable work, 'Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum,' have printed in its 20th volume, p. 1278.

CHAP.  
VL  
TURPIN'S  
HISTORY OF  
CHARLE-  
MAGNE.

These facts led me to the conjecture that this pope himself composed, or was concerned in this work of Turpin's, and influenced me to pursue the inquiry with more diligence and interest. I became therefore desirous to know more about him, to see if the supposition was at all probable, from his personal character or conduct.

Who was Pope Calixtus II.?—By birth, a Burgundian; Chron. Constat. p. 637.—son of a count of Burgundy; Rolv. 75; Labbe Conc. 10, p. 825.—of royal blood and ancestry; God. Vit. p. 506; Ch. Cassin. Labbe, ib.—and a kinsman of the emperor Henry V.; W. Tyre—having been a monk of the monastery 'Fulleri,' Ciaccon. p. 474, he had been the legate of the pope in Spain, and had composed his four sermones 'in laudem S. Jacobi apostoli habiti in ecclesia Compostellana,' while he was the papal legate there. Aguerre Notit. Concil. p. 282. These circumstances connected him closely with the main subject and object of Turpin's book. But when I also observed that at the time when he was chosen pope he was the archbishop of Vienne in France—Rob. de Monte, p. 617—new light seemed to dart upon the subject.

The letter of Turpin's, which begins the work, is addressed to a pretended dean of Vienne, and mentions that it was at Vienne that his friend had asked him to compose it. It was impossible to observe this without immediately recollecting the disregarded assertion of Guy Allard, that this book had been composed at Vienne, and was of the year 1092, and that a monk of St. Andrew there was its real author. This date suits the time of Calixtus. He ruled, as pope, from 1109 to 1124, and he had been archbishop of Vienne, and legate in Spain, before 1109. This chronology approaches very near to that assigned by Allard to the book, especially if this, like his work on the miracles, was written when he was young; and it is so peculiar that Allard should have placed the time of its composition in this period, and its locality at this place, and have made the author one of its monks, that we cannot but infer that these things were not like Grypheander's, those of surmise or reasoning, but must have been based on some

BOOK  
II.  
LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

specific evidence that occasioned Allard to assert them. What this particular evidence was, as he has not recorded, we cannot now know; but it remarkably harmonizes with the conclusion which these observations are intended to justify.

The authentic history of this pope, instead of discountenancing our idea of tracing this work to him, is very favourable to it. He showed himself to be a martial character. He was opposed by a competitor, Burdinus, who, according to the policy of all catholic historians, having disputed the chair with the successful, and finally acknowledged and canonical pontiff, is therefore decried by them as a wicked and impious wretch; but whom Baluz thought to be sufficiently estimable to deserve a life and panegyric, which he has inserted in his *Miscellanies*, vol. 3. But as soon as possible after he had been elected at Vienne, Calixtus set off for Rome, and having got together an army of Normans, marched boldly with them after his rival in Italy; attacked, took him prisoner at Sutrium, by force, and putting him into a bear's skin, and placing him on a camel, with his face to its tail, which he made him hold by his hand, sent him ignominiously to the Cassino convent near Salernum—W. Tyre. *Pandulph. Labbe*, p. 826. where he was confined in a cave for the rest of his life. *God. Vit.* 506.

The most famous of the other exertions of Calixtus, was his maintenance of the papal quarrel raised by Gregory VII. with the German emperors, on the investiture of the bishops. He insisted that this should rest with the popes, which, if fully obtained as struggled for, would have substantially given to them the appointment of all the bishops in Europe. Although he was related to Henry V. and had been raised to the tiara chiefly by his influence, yet, at the request of two German metropolitans, he excommunicated his imperial kinsman and patron. Henry V. was the husband of our empress Maud, the celebrated daughter of our Henry I. the mother of Henry II. and the lady who led the civil war in England so vigorously, for her son, against Stephen.

But the alarming conspiracy that was formed against Henry V. amid the very celebration of his nuptials, by his prelates and nobles, compelled him to an accommodation with Calixtus. Other powers interfered on his behalf, and the contest with Calixtus was at last settled by an arrangement, that the emperors should invest bishops with their temporal honors and possessions, and the popes with their spiritual rights, powers and privileges. On this concession, the pope absolved Henry from his excommunication. *God. Vit.* 506.



CHAP.  
VI.TURPIN'S  
HISTORY OF  
CHARLE-  
MAGNE.

Thus, says Labbe, a most grateful peace was restored, forty-nine years after the great discord had begun between Gregory VII. and Henry IV. p. 827. The Belgic Chronicle says, that 'from this, the church under Calixtus grew to a great mountain.' p. 150.

But Calixtus was as zealous for crusades against the mussulmen, as he was for the exaltation of the papal power, and for the recommendation of the shrine of Compostella. In 1123 he headed the council of Lateran, in which crusaders were exhorted to 'go to Jerusalem to defend the Christian faith, and fight the tyranny of the infidels.' That they were also encouraged and directed to make expeditions against them in Spain, is evident from the clause in the acts of this council, which mentions 'those who are known to have placed the crosses on their garments for the Jerusalem or for the *Spanish* journey.' Labbe quotes, with approbation, the remark of Baluz, that the connection of Palestine with Spain, shows that the journey to the latter was not a mere pilgrimage. But on this point the evidence is direct and positive; for Baluz also mentions, that in the archives of the church of Barcelona was an epistle of Calixtus II. 'ad universos fideles,' in which he grants the same remission of sins to those who should fight in Spain against the Saracens, as Urban had granted to the Palestine crusaders. Labbe, p. 837.

Thus the great motives and objects which the contents of the book indicate the author to have had in its composition, meet in Calixtus—the peculiar recommendation of St. James in Spain, and of a crusading warfare against the Mohamedans there. It was also his interest and policy to induce the emperors of Germany, who were becoming so formidable to the popedom by their possessions and growing power in Italy, to divert, employ and exhaust their strength in such expeditions; and this remark opens a view to the reason of connecting St. James with Charlemagne, and of making the first pope-crowned emperor of Germany, the hero of the tale.

That an idea of this Henry V. imitating Charlemagne on this very point, was at that very time in the mind of some of the clergy of Europe, is proved by a curious passage in our William of Malmsbury. Speaking of this very agreement between Calixtus II. and Henry V. he says, 'All Christendom rejoiced that the emperor, who in the approximating glory of his courage might press fiercely on the *footsteps of Charlemagne*, would also not degenerate from his devotion towards God.' Hist. L. 5. p. 170. I cannot account satisfactorily to myself for our old historian con-



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

necting Henry V. more than his own sovereign, or any body else, with Charlemagne, unless something had occurred at that time to lead to this association, and to make it one of the clerical notions of the day. That the pope should have diffused it, and should have thus published or sanctioned such a book as Turpin's, would be in perfect concord with such an intimation; and that he should have sent out this work to induce the German emperors to do what Charlemagne is there stated to have done, and what Malmsbury means by not degenerating from Charlemagne in his devotion towards God, is not only probable from all the preceding circumstances, but is also the result which this book actually produced.

It did not indeed make Henry V. imitate Charlemagne, in an attack on the infidels; for his sudden, mysterious, and to this moment unaccounted-for disappearance from his throne and world\*, before even Calixtus died, and almost immediately after his accommodation with the pope, prevented that. But in the same century, the first of his successors that had the requisite capacity and power, led a crusade into Palestine, and preceded it by the singular circumstance, which could have arisen only from the effect of Turpin's book, of joining a subsequent pope to make Charlemagne a *saint*.

The rescript of the emperor Frederic I. on this curious fact, is printed by Lambecius from the MSS. of the Vienna library. In this, which is dated in 1165, he says, that 'animated by the glorious deeds and merits of the most holy emperor Charles, and at the sedulous petition of Henry king of England (Henry II.) and with the assent and authority of the pope Paschal,' he declares Charlemagne to be an elect and most holy confessor, and as such to be venerated on earth. Lamb. Bib. Ces. V. 2. p. 341.

The antiphonæ and hymns to be addressed to him are also printed here. And thus this emperor Frederic, who thus sainted Charlemagne, by imitating him in an expedition against the Saracens, fulfilled the dearest wish of the papacy, that the active German emperors should so divert their dreaded and dangerous power.

The natural effect of all the above circumstances is, to support the credit of the Belgic Chronicle in its assertion that Calixtus did authenticate Turpin's book; and they all combine to increase the probability that this pope was connected with its appearance; but I had hitherto obtained no direct evidence on the subject, and as

\* See the first volume of this History.

CHAP.  
VI.TURPIN'S  
HISTORY OF  
CHARLE-  
MAGNE.

the Vienna MS. contained that passage on the description of the arts alleged to be painted by Charlemagne on his palace, which was not in the two printed copies, I resolved to inspect the MSS. of Turpin's book in the British Museum, which, though Warton has noticed, no one seemed to have examined with the same object in view which I was pursuing, and to observe whether they gave any evidence for or against the conclusion to which my own mind was now so strongly impelled.

I found eight MSS. of Turpin's book in this valuable museum. They are, Harl. N° 108; Claud. B 7; Vesp. A 13; Titus, A 19; Nero, A 11; Bib. Reg. 13. D 1; Harl. N° 2500; Ib. N° 6358; and an old French translation of it, Ib. N° 273. and its substance put into Latin rime, Bib. Reg. 13. A 18.

ALL these contain that passage which describes the seven arts, which the two printed copies have omitted, not being in the MS. they were taken from, but which Lambecius found in the Vienna MS. as Vossius did in another at Rotterdam. (Hist. Lat. V. 2. p. 32.) On this passage Le Beuf justly remarks, that in its account of music it mentions a chaunt from four lines, and as lines were not invented till the 11th century, it proves the book not to have been composed till after musical lines had come into use in the 11th century.

The first MS. which I inspected was the parchment Harleian MS. N° 108. In this there is a direct assertion that pope Calixtus had declared the work to be authentic. It begins, after the table of contents, 'Incipit liber Turpini Archiepi Remensis, quomodo Karolus rex Francorum adquesivit Hispaniam. *Hunc librum dicit Kalixtus Papa esse autenticum.* p. 5. Thus this MS. gives an ancient corroboration of the assertion of the great Belgic chronicle. In the same MS. and immediately following Turpin's Chronicle, and as a continuation, is, 'Explicit liber Turpini de gestis Karoli. Kalixtus ppa de inventione corporis Turpini.' p. 27.—thus ascribing to the same pope the description of finding the body of the pretended Turpin, and by that, identifying the pope with the construction of his fictitious character.

The substance of this account, thus given as the statement of the pope, is the same which Lambecius found in his Vienna MS. It is, that the Beatus Turpinus, soon after the death of Charlemagne, died at Vienne, from the result of his wounds and labours, and was buried near the city, beyond the Rhone.—That his *most holy* body 'in our times certain of our clergy found

BOOK  
II.  
LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

in a sarcophagus, clothed in episcopal garments, and yet entire in its own skin and bones; that from this church, then, in a devastated state, they brought the body into the city, and buried it in another church, '*ubi nunc veneratur.*' It adds, 'It is to be believed that those who have suffered martyrdom in Spain for the Christian faith, are deservedly crowned in heaven;' and it declares 'that the 16th July, the day on which he died, should be celebrated with the solemn office for the dead, with vigils and masses.'

It was a striking coincidence to find that this statement made Vienne the seat of the alleged discovery of Turpin's pretended body; and connected Calixtus, the archbishop of the place, with its factitious story, and made the revival of Turpin's name so synchronous with the time of the first appearance of this book.

Another MS. of Turpin's work, in the Harleian library, N<sup>o</sup> 6358, exhibited itself to be of peculiar importance, from the time of its composition. It is on parchment, and contains all Turpin, and the passage on the arts; and in its table of the chapters, intitles the part on Turpin's body with the name of the same pope, having left a blank for his initial letter, that it might be inserted in an ornamented manner. That chapter is therefore thus denoted: '*. . . alixtus Papa de inventione corporis beati Turpini.*' It makes 16 kal Junii, the day of his solemnity; and is followed in the same hand, and as a part of the work of the same writer who had transcribed the rest, by a genealogy from Moroveus, ending with Ludovicus being the father of Philip '*qui nunc regnat.*' Thus fixing its own date as that of the reign of Philip Augustus, who died 1223. It ends with a paragraph on the Norman dukes and sovereigns, to John, and seems to have applied the same words to him as to Philip; but after the word '*qui,*' is a blank, with an erasure, followed by Amen, as if the words '*nunc regnat*' had been inserted and afterwards scratched out. Now John died in 1216. My inference is, that it was written during his life, and therefore before 1216; but that he died while the MS. remained in the writer's hand, who therefore erased the *nunc regnat*. But in either case it is a complete testimony that at least before 1223, and probably before 1216, the account of the finding of Turpin's body was asserted and believed to be the account of pope Calixtus.

Thus far all these circumstances and MSS. expressly connect Calixtus with Turpin and his book and its subjects, and leave little doubt that it made its appearance under his sanction, and for purposes for which he was deeply interested; but two other MSS.

which succeeded, gave direct and positive assurances to this important fact.

One of these was an old paper MS. of the Cotton Library, Titus, A 19. This, like the Vienna MS. and the preceding, sub-joins to Turpin the account of finding his body, which it also intitles ‘Calixtus Papa de inventione corporis beati Turpini. p. 39.’ Thus, like the others, referring this statement to this pope as its author.

But this MS. goes farther :—It adds next, a letter of pope Innocent’s, who was the second successor of Calixtus in 1130, in which this pope declares *that Calixtus first published this book* ‘Hunc codicem a Dno Kalixto *primitus editum* ;’ and he asserts its veracity, and places it among the authentic books,—‘quem verbis veracissimum ; actione pulcherrimum ab herotheca (heretica) et apocripha pravitare alienum et inter ecclesiasticos codices autenticum, auctoritas nostra vobis testificatur.’

This same MS. then adds the laudatory approbation of seven prelates to this book, and they avow that their motive for thus supporting it, was that to which I have ascribed its composition, and which Calixtus was so studious to promote, the exaltation of St. James in Spain. For this reason I will transcribe the words ascribed to them in the MS.—

‘Ego Albricus legatus Prosul Hostiensis *ad decus S<sup>ti</sup> Jacobi* cujus servus sum hunc codicem legalem et per omnia laudabilem fere predico.

‘Ego Amoricus Cancellarius hunc librum *veracem* fere *ad honorem S<sup>ti</sup> Jacobi* manu mea scribenda affirmo.

‘Ego Girardus de Sancta Cruce Cardinalis hunc codicem preciosum *ad decus S<sup>ti</sup> Jacobi* penna mea scribendo corrobero.

‘Ego Guido Patavus Cardinalis quod Dns Papa Innocentius testatur affirmo.

‘Ego S. S. Cardinalis nepos Dni Papæ Innocentii hunc codicem per omnia laudo.

‘Ego Guido Lombardus Card. librum istum bonum *ad decus S<sup>ti</sup> Jacobi* glorifico.

‘Ego G. G. Ihenia Card. hunc codicem *ad decus S<sup>ti</sup> Jacobi* laudo.’

According to this part of the MS. the pope Innocent, as well as these prelates and cardinals, authenticated and praised Turpin’s work.

But in the next page follows that document which I presume to

CHAP.  
VI

TURPIN’S  
HISTORY OF  
CHARLE-  
MAGNE.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

be the authority on which the chroniclers have asserted that Calixtus declared the book to be a genuine work. It begins, 'Calixtus Episcopus servus servorum Dei dilectis—fratribus Episcopis Ecclesiæ, ceteris que ecclesiæ personis omnibus Christianis,' &c.

After some introduction it proceeds—'My most beloved sons, I beg your affection to understand how great an authority it is to go to Spain to attack the Saracens, and with how much reward they will be remunerated who willingly proceed thither; for Charlemagne, the king of France, most famous, far beyond other kings, is reported to have directed, with innumerable labours, expeditions to Spain to attack its perfidious nations; and the blessed Turpin, his associate, having collected a council, &c. went there—afterwards returned, as he has related in 'Gestis ejus, scribente Divina auctoritate corroborata.'—These last words seem to give the book the merit even of inspiration.

The pope, in this document, is then made to declare that all who shall go to Spain or to Jerusalem will receive the reward of martyrs. He adds, '*Never* was there at any former time such a great necessity to go there as there is at this day.'—He then commands all the prelates to announce this at their meetings, and all priests not to cease to exhort the laity in their churches, and promises heaven to those who shall carry about his letter from place to place and church to church. The MS. then describes four roads by which the route to St. James may be taken, with great particularity.

The other MS. of this work, which I inspected, Nero, A 11. is older than the preceding. It contains Turpin's history and the passage on the seven arts; and also the chapter, which, like the other MSS. it intitles, 'Kalixtus Papa de inventione corporis beati Turpini;'—and then adds the work of Kalixtus, mentioned by Baronius and the others, on the miracles of St. James; thus heading it: 'Incipit argumentum Kalixti Papæ de miraculis beati et gloriosi Apostoli Jacobi,' &c. Some he says he heard of, some he found written, and some he saw. He dates eight of them in 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1107, and in 1110; and in the beginning he orders his MS. to be deemed authentic.—'Precepimus ut codex iste inter viridicos et autenticos codices deputetur in ecclesiis et refectoriis diebus festis ejusdem Apostoli aliisque si placet diligenter legatur. p. 38.

There follows, in p. 59, another letter of Calixtus to the convent of Clugny, in which he says he sends them the MS. of



St. James for their correction. A statement then is made that he had loved St. James from his childhood; that he had travelled with the MS. for fourteen years, and had encountered many dangers by sea, fire, imprisonment, and lost his other goods, but that this MS. always escaped, and therefore he thought it was acceptable to God. St. James also appeared to him in a vision, and bade him finish it. He speaks of his book as consisting of two parts; this is manifestly inserted by the author of the MS. as relating to Turpin's book, as well as to the addition on the miracles of St. James.

A letter, under the name of the pope Innocent, asserting the 'codicem' to have been by 'Papa Calixto primitus editum,' is subjoined; but as in some parts it resembles, so in others it differs from that ascribed to the same pope in the other MS.

Thus stands the question upon the face of these MSS. Of the genuineness of these letters, thus attributed to these popes, I give no opinion, for I cannot judge; arguments on both sides of the question might be urged. But even if any of them be factitious, their very forgery would be evidence that Calixtus was at the time thought to be concerned in this book of Turpin's, or he would not have been the pope to whom it would have been attached. The fabricators would have made a pope nearer to the time of Charlemagne the voucher of its authenticity, and not one so recent as Calixtus, unless Calixtus had become notorious about it.

After writing the above, it occurred to me to inspect the *Acta Sanctorum*. There I found a copy of the treatise of Calixtus on the miracles of St. James; July, Vol. 6. corresponding with that in the MS. of Nero, A 11. It is published in the *Acta* from two MSS.; one, of the 'Monasterii Marchianensis;' the other, of the 'Basilicæ S<sup>t</sup> Petri;' both of which ascribe it to Calixtus; and the editor mentions that he had found it under his name, 'in plurimis bibliothecis,' and that it was attributed to him 'passim a scriptoribus,' and was referred to by Vincentius as his genuine offspring. But the editor says he cannot persuade himself that it is his exactly as he wrote it.

This commentator admits that the letter of Innocent II. approving of these works of Calixtus, has been published by Mariana as genuine; and he gives the letter of Calixtus to the convent of Clugny, which thus explicitly supports and recommends Turpin's book, and which is apparently that document by which, as the *Belgic Chronicle* and MSS. state, he declared it to be authentic. In this, after declaring of the book on St. James, 'quidquid in eo scribetur authenticum est,' he adds, '*Idem* de Historia Caroli

quæ a beato Turpino Remensi Archiepiscopo describetur, statuimus.' Acta Sanct. p. 44. He says that Vincentius, who lived about a century after Calixtus, ascribes this to the pope.

From this editor I learnt that Oudin ascribed it to Calixtus, on the authority of a MS. of Benedict college in Cambridge. p. 44. I have not seen this MS. ; but in the catalogue of the Benedict MSS. I find both these works thus described:—' N° 1317, Calixtus Papa super miracula S<sup>t</sup> Jacobi Apostoli.—Idem, super translatione ejusdem.—Liber Turpini.—Calixtus Papa de inventione corporis Turpini.—Hunc librum dicit Calixtus Papa esse authenticum,' Catal. p. 133.

Thus the MSS. in all countries ascribe to this pope its publication and authentication. It is easy to assert, and as easy to argue, that these letters are not genuine. We all know how plausibly numbers have written on Ossian, Rowley, Junius, and Ireland Shakspeare, on both sides of the question ; here all the written testimony is on one side only. I will only add, that the rational probabilities of the question seem to be, that if Calixtus had not been concerned in giving this book of Turpin's to the world, his name would not have been so pertinaciously and universally attached to it. No other but the person mentioned by Allard has been, on any authority, assigned to it ; and what he says, connects it also with the place of which Calixtus was the prelate. The monk of St. Andre may have been the real author, under Calixtus, and the pope the public father.

It is also to be remarked, that although these ancient authorities attach it to Calixtus, there is no ancient authority that contradicts the ascription.

I will only add one other circumstance that I have observed, which may have had some connection in this pope's mind, with this subject. The real Tilpin was archbishop of Rheims ; and it was to Rheims that the body of the only pope who bore the name of Calixtus, viz. Calixtus I. was transported. And it is apparently a coincidence worth remarking, that as the letter on Turpin, attributed to Calixtus, makes Turpin's dead body to be found in a place laid waste by war, and to be carried to Vienne, so the dead body of Calixtus I. was taken from another place which the Danes had devastated, and was brought into Rheims. Flod.

The reader will now judge for himself how far it is right or wrong to consider Calixtus as the real or putative father of Turpin's book.

## APPENDIX II.

*That Jeffry's British History probably originated from the political views of Henry I.*

THE perception that the history of Turpin so visibly originated from the objects and feelings, and was principally pushed into celebrity by the authority of Calixtus II. leads the mind to inquire whether the British history of Jeffry of Monmouth was also connected with any worldly interests, or promoted by any worldly policy of the court of England, in the beginning of the twelfth century. It was written, and seems to have been made public, during the latter portion of the reign of Henry I.

The first dated proof we have of the existence of Jeffry's book, is the year 1139. Our historian, Henry of Huntingdon, in his letter to Warinus of Bretagne, who had asked him why he had omitted in his history all the incidents between Brutus and Julius Cæsar, answers, that although he had very often inquired, he could not find any knowledge of those times, either from verbal tradition, or in writing, till the year 1139, when, going to Rome with the archbishop Theobald, he was astonished to find (*stupens inveni*) at Bec, of which Theobald had been abbot, the written account of those transactions. A monk here, Robert of Thorigney, a very zealous collector of books, brought him Jeffry's book to read. Harl. MSS. N° 1018. There is also a letter of this Robert de Thorigney, which mentions his putting this book into Henry's hands, and that Huntingdon had carried his history down to the death of Henry I. or 1135. MS. ib. Therefore, Huntingdon knew nothing of Jeffry's history in 1135, but saw it at Bec in 1139.

Jeffry addresses the prophecies of Merlin, which he stopped in the middle of his work to translate, to Alexander, bishop of Lincoln. L. 7. c. 1. and 2. But Alexander was raised to this see in 1123; M. Pac. 69; therefore this history could not have been either published or completed before 1123. Thus we have these two extreme terms, within which the book must have been made public—not earlier than 1123; not later than 1139.

But Alured of Beverley has inserted an abridgment of it in his history. This history he ends just after Michaelmas in the 29 Henry I. or in October 1128. As he leaves off very abruptly at this period, it has been inferred that he died soon afterwards. Hearne's Pref. p. 28. Voss. Hist. Lat. 369. But the old biogra-

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

phers, Pitts and Bale, place his death in 1136. On these latter authorities Jeffry's history must have been published before 1136. But the expressions of Alured in the beginning of his book, already remarked upon, (see before, p. 320.) indicate that he had met with Jeffry's history in 1128; therefore the correct chronology of its publication appears to stand thus:—It could not have appeared before 1123, and must have appeared before 1136 or 1139, and most probably was made public in 1128. This statement shows that it was composed or translated in the latter portion of the reign of Henry I. and decides the question as to the priority of Turpin or Jeffry. I once doubted if Turpin's work had not been an imitation of Jeffry's; but since I have satisfied myself that Turpin's work was sanctioned by pope Calixtus, in 1122, it must have preceded Jeffry's, which could not have appeared till after 1123\*.

*How far Jeffry's British History promoted the political interests and objects of Henry I.*

I. HENRY had taken the crown not only against the hereditary right of his brother Robert, but also in violation of the compact made between that prince and William Rufus and his barons, which appointed him to succeed the latter. Robert was in Palestine when Henry usurped it, and upon his return to claim it, almost all the barons deserted Henry and joined Robert. Alan. Proph. Merl. l. 2. p. 74. The clergy and the English barons interfered, and influenced Robert to compromise his claim; but the public feeling was not in favor of Henry's rectitude; he was ridiculed and called 'queen goods-rich,' ib. p. 74. and was also in danger of revolts. It was therefore most important for him to have a book appear, in which an accredited and revered prophet should have foretold his reign, and described his actions. His severities to repress the violences and oppressions of his barons, and to reduce them to a subordination to law and the crown, and his pecuniary levies from his subjects, had made him many enemies and caused many insurrections.

No policy could be more deep and effectual than to have also all these things predicted by an authority which that age vene-

\* Some other dates connected with it may be noticed. It is addressed to Robert earl of Gloucester; he died in 1147. Jeffry was made bishop of St. Asaph in 1151; Matt. Paris, p. 84; and died 1154. 2 Wart. Angl. Sax. Alexander died 1147; M. Par. 82. H. Hunt. 394.



rated; hence, all these were made part of the prophecies ascribed to Merlin, and inserted by Jeffry in his book. The following were understood at that time to be spoken by Merlin of Henry, and are so interpreted by Alanus de Insulis, his contemporary.

‘The lion of justice shall succeed; at whose roar the Gallic towers and island dragons shall tremble. In his days gold shall be extorted from the lily and the nettle, and silver shall flow from the hoofs of those which low. Those that curl their hair shall be clothed in various fleeces, and the exterior habit shall show the interior things. The feet of those that bark shall be cut off. Wild beasts shall have peace. Humanity will be grieved at the punishment. Money shall be made round. The rapacity of the kites shall perish, and the teeth of the wolves be blunted.’

Alanus explains this of Henry. He raised money both from the good and bad, the clergy and the laity, or the lily and the nettle. A tax was laid by him on all sales of cattle. He forbade hunting. Many nobles were accused of conspiring against him, and punished. He ordered the oboli to be made round, and he put an end to the depredations and rapines of the great and gentry. Alan. p. 79. The prophecy is also made to foretell that he would buy his kingdom of Robert. Ib. 123.

Thus his own reign, and the actions of his government that were most objected to, instead of being usurpation and tyranny, were represented to be fulfilments of the Divine ordinations. Nothing could be more artfully contrived to turn the prejudices of the people in his favor.

II. Normandy having been extorted from France, and the smaller power, was always in danger of being re-absorbed by the French government. But when its dukes became kings of England, the French crown became in its turn endangered; and thus the two sovereigns were thrown into a continual state of jealousy and discord with each other.

But France had become a peculiar object of dread and dislike to Henry, from its crown claiming to have Normandy held as a fief from it, and therefore assuming to be its sovereign lord, and as such, exacting homage and feudal honors from the king of England, as the condition of his holding Normandy. This was not a mere personal mortification to kingly pride, but it was a state of the greatest political danger; for it made the Norman barons look up to the king of France as their paramount lord, and on Henry as a military tenant to him of the duchy, to whom they were in sub-infeudation.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

The consequence was, that on any dispute or dissatisfaction with their sovereign in England, they flew off from their allegiance to him, and transferred it to the king of France, or applied to him for assistance against their English lord.

Thus Robert had joined Philip, the king of France, against his own father, the Conqueror. Al. 65. So the same prince, to maintain his war against Rufus, had sent to Philip, as to his chief lord, for aid, who flew to help him against his brother; and a long intestine war ensued in Normandy. Al. 67. The effect of this political condition was, that the Norman barons were, as they are described to be, men who could not be relied on, and who held faith and fealty to neither France nor England.

Hence it became a great object with Henry to depreciate the crown of France, and to divest it of all its pretensions to the attachment and veneration of both Normandy and England. Many parts of Jeffry's book had visibly this tendency, and operated to produce this effect.

In that day of ancestral pride, it was a peculiar personal object of every king and nobleman to have the highest and most celebrated descent. The Romans having derived themselves from Trojans, the Trojan blood became the noblest in the estimation of their Gothic conquerors. Hence the French kings early claimed the same superior honour; and Hunnibald had fixed it on the Frankish throne, by deriving their nation and royalty from Francio the imagined son of Priam. But as the king of France claimed homage from Bretagne, Normandy, and all the great dukes and counts in France, any superiority of ancestral descent became an auxiliary confirmation of his superior dignity.

It was, therefore, important to the crown of England to paralyze any right that might flow from a Trojan descent, by asserting a similar ancestry. Henry could not immediately deduce the line of his Norman progenitor Rollo from it; but he could attach it to the English crown, and through that to himself, the existing sovereign, by setting up Brutus as the founder of the monarchy of England, and by making him a Trojan. Accordingly, the first chapters in Jeffry's book make Brutus the great-grandson of Æneas, and deduce both the sovereignty and population of England from this Trojan chief. Thus the crown of England became as noble in its ancestral origin as that of France, which by this representation could not pretend to any nobler blood.

But the point of feudal lordship was a question far more vex-

atious and formidable. In Henry's seventeenth year, or in 1116, many of the Norman barons, who had sworn fealty to him, revolted, and transferred it to Louis of France. *Al. Bev.* 147. This began a quarrel between the two crowns, and a dangerous insurrection in Normandy, which was ended for the time by Henry's son William, three years after, submitting to do homage to the king of France for Normandy. *Ib.* 148. In 1123, the revolts of the barons again brought on war there. Further wars ensued, aided by the king of France, in 1127, which plunged the French and English crowns into a renewed state of hostilities.

To destroy the French crown's right of homage, and to abate the public opinion of its greatness and dignity, Jeffry's book represented France as having been several times conquered and governed by British kings:—by Brutus, by Ebraucus, by Belinus, and by Arthur. The two last are described to have governed it; and Arthur was represented as having separated Normandy and Anjou from the French crown, and given them to two of his knights and officers. These facts took away the right of homage from the English crown, and set up a claim of England for the submission to it of France, of which Arthur had been crowned king, all whose regal rights Henry now possessed and exercised.

The right of homage claimed by the king of France from the great states in that country, was further struck at by a denial of any ancient French monarchy there. Jeffry's book is made to declare, that in the time of Brutus 'Gaul was subject to twelve princes, who with *equal* authority possessed the government of that *whole* country;' *l. 1. c. 13*; and these twelve peers of Gaul came to England and assisted at Arthur's coronation when he was crowned king of France, and of all the other countries he had conquered. *l. 9. c. 12*. On this representation the later kings of France could have none but an usurped right to treat its great states as their feudatories.

These circumstances tended to remove from the Norman and English chivalry any dread of the French power; and by showing how often it had been conquered by Britain, to revive a military ambition and elevation to again invade it, and to seek for profit and glory from attacking it. It was the interest of Henry to excite these feelings, and thereby to turn the baronial mind from making dangerous connections with the French king. Arthur's history was therefore of peculiar use to Henry on this vital point.

III. It had also another important connection with his policy and

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

interest; he had taken the crown of England from his brother Robert, and afterwards Normandy, and imprisoned him for life in Cardiff Castle. But Robert had a son, whom the French king and the continent favoured and assisted, and who obtained the earldom of Flanders, and was urging a dangerous warfare with Henry, at first for Normandy, and consequentially, for England.

Henry was thus endangered and attacked by his nephew William, as Arthur had been by his nephew Modred; the contest in both cases was for the crown of England. Nothing was more alarming to Henry than this situation; his own son's death in 1120 left him and his throne without a male heir. Conspiracies began in favour of his nephew, even in his own court; his barons began to join Robert's son, and he became so alarmed as frequently to change his bed.

It was exactly calculated to abate this state of danger, that Jeffry's book should so fully show that the death of Arthur and the ruin of the Britons arose from the chief and nation abetting his nephew's rebellion against him. To enforce this topic, the Britons are stated to have lost their liberties and country by their intestine divisions; and Jeffry adds to his author an emphatic address, to dissuade the country from such civil discord. It is the only part in which he takes this trouble. L. 11. c. 9. The last paragraph of his book, l. 12. c. 19. thus enforces the same topic; 'Besides their wars with the Saxons, the country, by quarrels among themselves, became a perpetual scene of misery and slaughter.'

IV. Henry was anxious to obtain the subjection of Wales, and planted a colony of Flemings in it to promote his ulterior objects. He, like his father, was also desirous to keep Scotland in a state of feudal homage to him. It was promotive of these purposes, that Brutus, the first monarch of Britain, was shown to have possessed the whole Island; that his descendant and the venerated law maker Dunwallo Molmutius reduced all Great Britain and Wales into obedience to him, and established his legislation over all; l. 2. c. 17; that his son Belinus had also the sovereignty of the whole island, l. 3. c. 5. and sent a Spanish colony to people Ireland; and that all the succeeding kings, down to Julius Cæsar, were kings of the whole island. With the same view it is said of Arthur, 'The entire monarchy of Britain belonged to him by hereditary right.' L. 9. c. 1. Arthur invaded Scotland, and there conquered both the Irish and Scots; and, it is added,

‘all the bishops of that miserable country came barefooted, and kneeling down implored his mercy for it, since they were willing to bear the yoke he should put upon them.’ C. 6. No statement could more benefit Henry in his project of a similar sovereignty than these. This is not a mere speculation. Jeffry’s British History was felt to give so firm a foundation for this claim, that Edward I. actually based his right to the sovereignty of Scotland on this book, in his celebrated letter to the pope, in which he officially thus justified his pretensions to it. The grounds he took from it were, that Brutus had given England to his eldest son Loclin, and Scotland to his second, on whose death it returned to Loclin; that it was held under the kings of England afterwards, and reconquered by Arthur, to whom its king did homage; and thus, ‘all the kings of Scotland have successively been subject to all the kings of the Britons.’ Wals. Ypod. 492.

CHAP.  
VI.  
JEFFRY’S  
BRITISH  
HISTORY.

V. A subject deeply interesting to Henry, was to lessen or to sever the subordination of his great clergy to the papal chair.

As pope Gregory the great had sent Austin to convert the Anglo-Saxons, and had thereby founded the English church, and appointed its prelates, all the clergy looked up to the pope as their religious sovereign; and both of Henry’s archbishops, Anselm of Canterbury and Thurstan of York, had fought the papal battle against him.

Jeffry’s book tended to lessen this dependence on the Roman see, and the attachment to it. For instead of allowing Gregory to have been the first founder of Christianity in Britain, it placed a British king, Lucius, four centuries before, who *himself* desired to be a Christian, and *sent* to Rome for religious instructors. Instead of making the pope the creator of the prelates of the island, it describes three pagan archflamens, and twenty-eight flamens, to have been converted into the three archbishops and twenty-eight bishops of England and Wales, and that these succeeded to the possessions and territories of the ancient idol temples. L. 4. c. 19. It made the very emperor who established Christianity in the Roman empire, Constantine the great, to have been born in Britain, son of a British princess, and to have become the emperor of the world. L. 5. c. 6—8. To abate all veneration for Rome, it also described that city and the nation to have been formerly conquered by a British king, Brennus; and it exhibited Arthur as refusing to pay it the tribute which it claimed, and as defeating all the forces and allies of the empire, which were collected on purpose to enforce it and to attack him. L. 10. c. 1—4.



BOOK II. This attack and defeat are made the most prominent object of Arthur's history.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

VI. Another point of great moment to Henry was, to induce the barons to be attached, and subordinate and faithful to him; to make the honours, appearance and festivities of his court their great ambition and desire, and to incite them to be docile and obedient to him. For this purpose Arthur's barons were represented of this character and conduct; and all the consequential romances made him the venerated and commanding sovereign of his nobles and chivalry. It was important to that unity and internal peace in the nation, as well as to that external greatness from it which Henry desired, that the great should be induced to lay aside their jealousies and competitions with each other, and live in something like fraternal affection. No invention was more calculated to produce this than that idea of the Round Table, equalizing all, and precluding all contest for dignity and precedence on public festivities, which produced so much ill blood and warfare. Hence, to be knights of the round table was made the highest honour and the noblest character of Arthur's court in Jeffry's book, and in all the compositions and tales that originated from it.

It appears to me that those coincidences with Henry's political objects could not have occurred in this book from mere accident. No less than four times is France represented to have been conquered by those who enjoyed the British crown:—by Brutus; by Belinus; by Maximin; and by Arthur. There is a studied exaltation in this of Britain above France; so contrary in these facts to all recorded history, that they seem more likely to have been invented to serve a political purpose, than to have casually occurred to a mere fabulous narrator.

The book is also founded on a principle of exciting the ambition and of producing the aggrandisement of Britain; for when Brutus inquires of the oracle of Diana where he shall go, he is directed by that to sail in search of an island which was to become another Troy, and to whose kings *'all the world was to be subject.'* Such a prediction as this, placed at the very head-piece of the book, looks like a design to rouse an extraordinary ambition in the English mind for some great object of worldly policy: to prompt it to large enterprizes of aggression against its neighbours, which would occupy the great barons and chivalry, and prevent intestine wars.

To these remarks we may add, that Henry had also some



inducements to counteract Calixtus in his Turpin's book : he had become involved in a personal dispute with this very pope. Eadmer, who lived at the time, has informed us, that when Thurstan, the archbishop of York, would not submit to the pre-eminence of Canterbury, but went to Calixtus to be consecrated by him, Henry sent a special messenger to this pontiff to request him not to do it. Calixtus returned a positive assurance to Henry that he would do nothing but what the king wished, and yet soon afterwards, in violation of his promise, actually consecrated the refractory Thurstan.

The displeasure of Henry at this conduct, occasioned Calixtus to visit him at Gisors, and to entreat him to befriend Thurstan. The king refused, and told the pope that he had sworn not to receive him. Calixtus answered, 'I am Apostolicus, and if you will do what I ask, I will absolve you from your vow.' Henry coolly said, he must consult his council. He did so ; and sent the pope this answer :—' Though he says that as Apostolicus he will absolve me from my pledge, it does not become the honor of a king to consent to such an absolution ; for who will hereafter trust to any one that plights his faith, if he can plead my example in getting such an absolution ?' Eadm. 126. After this, Calixtus threatened him with an excommunication, and the archbishop of Canterbury with a suspension. Ib. 137. Henry and Calixtus were thus involved in a personal quarrel with each other.

The book of Turpin, which Calixtus had published and sanctioned, did not become popular in England. Its fables of Charlemagne were not adopted by any of our old chroniclers. Its greatest object was, as we have before remarked, to urge the sovereigns and great into crusades against the Mahometans. But it was not Henry's interest to lead his barons that way ; for the largest part of his reign he was keeping his brother Robert in a dungeon, whose high reputation had arisen from his actions in Palestine, where he had been offered, and had refused, the kingdom of Jerusalem. Hence, it was Henry's interest to counteract the aim of Calixtus in his Turpin, and by an imitated fictitious work to give the chivalry of his country a different direction—and Jeffry's British History had this effect ; for its publication created a quite different description of romantic and narrative composition.

Turpin and Jeffry really head two distinct and opposed classes of ' romans and estories ;' corresponding with the different aims of Calixtus and Henry. All the romances of the class of Charlemagne,

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

and that sprang from Turpin, are characterized by recommending and describing battles with the Mahometans; all enforce the wish of Calixtus to make crusades the object of knight-errantry; all the knights in these, fight and conquer Saracens; but in all those which are connected with Arthur, or that originated from Jeffry, no crusades and no battles with the Mahometans are mentioned or recommended. That Arthur lived 200 years before these came into Spain, would have made no difference in that age, when all history and chronology were set at defiance; and even Alexander the great was represented in one, to have made a journey to the Roman emperor Constantius. Murat. Ant. p. 958.

By making Arthur the main hero, the mind was indeed led into a different path, and he was therefore wisely chosen to be such; but the fact is clear, that Jeffry's book began a series of romans quite opposed in aim and subject to those of Turpin and Charlemagne.

The book of Jeffry, therefore, however it originated, had the effect of counteracting the book of Turpin and Calixtus; the crusades never became popular in England, nor were supported by its kings, till Henry II. was forced by the pope to promise to undertake one as a penance for Becket's death; yet he only made preparations for it; he never actually undertook one; it was his son, Richard I. who was the first English sovereign that, in 1189, led the force of England into the plains of Palestine.

Having thus shown how much Jeffry's book was directed in its main subjects to promote the political aims and interests of Henry I. let us inquire—

## II. *What does Jeffry himself state as to its composition?*

HE informs us that the actions of Arthur, and other British kings, not mentioned by Gildas or Bede, were pleasingly celebrated by many persons, by heart, as if they had been written; and that while thinking of these, Walter, an archdeacon of Oxford, offered him a very ancient book in the British language, which in a continued regular story, and elegant style, related the actions of all the British kings, from Brutus to Cadwallader. At Walter's request, he undertook the translation of this book into Latin.

He then addresses the book to Robert earl of Gloucester, the son of Henry I. that it may be so corrected by this nobleman's advice, that, when polished by his refined wit and judgment, it may

be thought to be his production, and not the poor offspring of CHAP. I.  
Jeffry of Monmouth.

He mentions in his 17th chapter, that Gildas the historian has given a large account of the quarrel between Lud, the brother of Cassivellaun, and his other brother Nennius, on his changing the name of London from New Troy to Caer Lud; and adds, 'for which reason *I choose to pass it over*, for fear of debasing by my account of it what so great a writer has so eloquently related.

He narrates that Hudibras built Caer-lem, or Canterbury, Caer-guen, or Winchester, and the town of Mount Paladin, now Shaftsbury. 'At this place an eagle spoke while the wall of the town was building; and, indeed, *I should not have failed* transmitting the speech to posterity, if *I had thought it true* as the rest of the history.' L. 2. c. 9. Thomp. Tr.

After twice mentioning that Gildas had written on the laws of Molmutius, and also on St. German and Lupus, he says of the first Christian teachers of Britain, 'their names and acts are recorded in a book which Gildas wrote concerning the victory of Aurelius Ambrosius; and what is delivered in so bright a treatise needs not to be repeated here in a meaner style.' L. 4. c. 20.

He thus begins his seventh book: '*I had not got so far* as this place of the history, when the subject of public discourse happening to be concerning Merlin, I was obliged to publish his prophecies at the request of my acquaintance, but especially of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, a prelate of the greatest piety and wisdom. Out of a desire, therefore, to gratify him, I translated these prophecies, and sent them to him with the following letter.' L. 7. c. 1.

'The regard I owe to your great worth, most noble prelate! has obliged me to undertake the translation of Merlin's prophecies out of British into Latin, *before I had made an end* of the history which I had begun concerning the acts of the British kings. For my design was to *have finished that* first, and afterwards to have explained this work; lest, by having both upon my hands at once, I should be less capable of attending with any exactness to either.' L. 7. c. 2.

He begins his eleventh book with Modred's war with Arthur, thus: 'Of the matter now to be treated of, most noble consul! Jeffry of Monmouth shall be silent; but will, though in a mean style, yet briefly, relate *what he found* in the British book above mentioned, and *heard* from that most learned historian Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, concerning the wars which this renowned

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

king, upon his return to Britain after his victory, waged with his nephew.' L. 11. c. 1.

The apostrophe upbraiding the Britons, l. 11. c. 9. is his own insertion; for he begins the next chapter with the words, 'But to return to the history.' C. 10. He describes the British clergy as flying from the Saxons into Wales, others into Bretagne; 'But these things I shall relate elsewhere, when I translate the book concerning their banishment.' C. 10.

He thus closes his work after Athelstan: 'As for the kings that have succeeded in Wales since that time, I leave the history of them to Caradoc of Lancarvan, my contemporary, as I also do the kings of the Saxons to William of Malmsbury and Henry of Huntingdon. But I advise them to be silent concerning the kings of the Britons, since they have not that book written in the British tongue, which Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, brought out of Bretagne, and which being a true history, published in honour of those princes, I have thus taken care to translate.' L. 12. c. 20.

As in these passages Jeffry asserts that Walter, an archdeacon of Oxford, had brought out of Bretagne a very ancient book in the British language, containing a regular story of all the British kings from Brutus to Cadwallader, which the archdeacon desired him to translate into Latin; our first question becomes, whether Jeffry's translation gives us all this British book, and only this British book? On this subject we find that he himself declares, that, upon the wars between Arthur and Modred, he has added to the account he found in the ancient book, what he had heard from Walter the archdeacon. L. 11. c. 1. He has also inserted the prophecies of Merlin; l. 7. c. 1, 2; and the apostrophe on the British civil wars. L. 11. c. 9.

He likewise, as above mentioned, has chosen to pass over the quarrel between the brothers of Cassivellaun, because Gildas had written on them; l. 1. c. 17; and to omit the prophecy of the eagle on Shaftsbury, because he did not think it true. L. 2. c. 9.

He also has purposely forborn to give the account of the first Christian teachers of Britain; l. 4. c. 20; and the emigrations of the British clergy into Wales and Bretagne; l. 11. c. 10; but he does not distinctly say that these were in the old British book.

I would not press the point beyond his own admissions; but it is clear that his work is not merely and entirely the old British work—at least in these additions and omissions. We cannot, therefore, be certain whether he has, or not, interpolated or ex-



CHAP.  
VI.JEFFRY'S  
BRITISH  
HISTORY.

punged any other parts. He tells us that there were many traditional tales of Arthur and the other British kings in popular circulation, before he received this ancient book, and that he was meditating upon them, and was regretting that they had not been noticed by Gildas or Bede, when it was put into his hands. He has not said whether he has interwoven any of these in his history; but as he did not confine himself to be an exact translator only of the British book, we cannot be sure that his memory did not assist him in his composition. We learn from him that there was an historical work of Gildas on some incidents in the history of Britain, since Cassivellaun, which has since perished; but he does not refer to this author any part of his history of Arthur. This fact, however, is clear, that he assumed the liberty of omitting and adding to his original whenever he pleased. That he has taken this liberty is further proved by what he mentions on Brennius. 'But the rest of his actions and his death, seeing they are delivered in the Roman histories, I *shall here* pass over, to avoid prolixity, and meddling with what others have treated of, which is foreign to my design.' L. 3. c. 10. This language implies that he has *made up* his work as he liked, as to omissions; and if he has omitted where he chose, and added as he chose, what certainty have we that his work is merely the British book in all its other parts?

From the language of his dedication of Merlin's prophecies to the bishop of Lincoln, we may infer that it was made known in the circles of the great some time before it was actually published; for he stops in the middle of it to say, that Merlin had then become so much talked of among the public, that he was desired by the bishop to translate the British magician's prophecies; and he tells us, that before he had finished his history he undertook this version. His original plan he declares to have been, to have first finished his history; hence the words of his dedication of it do not prove the time of its composition to have been after the death of Henry I. He is stated to have made two publications of it; the first in four books only, of which a MS. was stated to be in Bennet's College in Cambridge; and afterwards in eight books, with Merlin's prophecies. Thompson's Pref. xvii. Hence the date of 1128 for its first appearance does not seem to be disproved. His dedications appear to have varied. The printed copy begins with one to Robert earl of Gloucester. But Simmer mentions one MS. at Berne, which had a dedication to king Stephen, the antagonist of Robert. Cat. Bern. Roquef. Etat. p. 143.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.III. *The popularity of the Work.*

IF it was a mere accident that archdeacon Walter, in the reign of Henry I. met the old book in Bretagne, and gave it to an obscure monk of Monmouth to translate into Latin, how came it to attain such a sudden, rapid, and extensive popularity as Alured of Beverley and Henry of Huntingdon imply. We have already alluded to the strong words of the former; we will give them here at length.

'At that time the narrations of the history of the Britons were reported by the mouths of many; and he who had not the knowledge of such narrations incurred the mark of rusticity. I confess that as much from my reverence for antiquity, for which I always had a high veneration, as from the urbanity of its style, which, though I was not acquainted with it, was yet very pleasingly present to the younger ones who remembered it, I was often ashamed, amid such confabulators, that I had not yet acquired the aforesaid history; what more? I sought for the history, and as soon as I found it I applied myself most intently to reading it. But while I was delighted with this new reading of ancient things, my mind became eager to transcribe it; but neither opportunity of time nor the state of my purse permitted this. Yet to satisfy my earnest desire in some measure, and to take away a little of the evil of those days, I endeavoured to pluck some of the flowers of this history, not for the learned but for myself, and for those who, like myself, were ignorant of such things; especially those parts which did not exceed credibility, and would delight the reader and fasten on the memory.' L. 1. p. 2. He mentions, that he should add to his 'deflorationes' what other sources would supply.

That the 'British History' which he thus abridged was Jeffry's, no one can doubt, who candidly compares them; though Hearne, in the occasional oddity of his mind, chose, against Leland, to declare the contrary: 'Galiredi non deflorator Aluredus.' Pref. p. 22. But not only the subject, but many passages are the same; and the harmonious fourteen hexameters and pentameters of the address to Diana and her oracle, are given verbatim. It is true, Alured does not name Jeffry, but only calls it 'The British History;' but this is Jeffry's own title of his work.

It is a fair question to ask, why Alured did not quote it as Jeffry's? The true answer seems to be, that the history was not Jeffry's.

according to his own account; he was but the Latin translator. It was given by him to the world, as 'a very ancient British book brought out of Bretagne,' by Walter; so that it was properly called 'The British History.' As Jeffry's, it could have no authority whatever; nor could it have answered any political purpose to reckon it as his. The object for which it was countenanced and circulated required a far higher authority; and therefore, at the time of its appearance and first popularity, Jeffry's name was sunk, and it was brought forward and spoken of as 'The British History.' Afterwards, when its political use or tendencies declined, Jeffry's name became applied to it, rather to discredit than to uphold it; then it was spoken of; attacked and decried as his work, and has since been known only with his name.

That it was not spoken of at the time of its appearance as Jeffry's history, and that it was considered as a book of superior authority to his, appears from the passage in Gaimar, which alludes to it. He says that his patroness 'Dame Custance la gentil,' who caused him to write his 'estorie,' sent to Helmslac for the book of Walter, whom in this line he calls 'espac,' or bishop. He then adds this particular information about it, which demands attention, as a further account of what was Jeffry's original, and as a supplement to his statement.

"Robert the great, of Gloucester, caused these 'gestes,' to be translated according to the books of the Welch, which they had of the British kings. Walter, the bishop, asked for it, when Robert sent it to him; then Walter, the bishop, lent it to Arnil, the son of Gilebert. Dame Custance borrowed it of her lord, whom she much loved. Geffrai Gaimar wrote this book, and put in it the narrations which the Welch had left, which he had thus obtained, whether they were right or whether they were wrong; the good book of Oxford, which was Walter's the archdeacon. He completed well his book from it; and this geste was also completed from the history of Winchester, from Wassingburc, an English book, where he found written of the kings, and of all the emperors that were lords of Rome, and had tribute from England of the kings whom they had held; of their lives, of their quarrels, of their adventures, and of their actions; how each maintained his country; which loved peace and which loved war. Here he will find all this most fully who will look into this book; and he that does not believe what I say, may inquire of Nicole de Trailli."—MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

We perceive the same fact in Wace's Brut. He takes all his work from the same British history ; narrating and dilating on its incidents as he pleases ; but he does not publish it as Jeffry's book versified by him, but as his own work and translation : ' He that would hear and know who the kings were, and whence they came, that first held England, and in what order they reigned, Master Wace has translated about it ; he relates the truth as the books devise it, when the Greeks had taken Troy.'

So, on Arthur's death, after mentioning that he was taken to Avalon to have his wounds dressed ; ' Thence yet the Bretons expect him, as they say and understand ; from thence he will yet come alive. Master Wace who made this book will say no more of his end than the prophet Merlin has said of it. Merlin declared that Arthur's death should remain doubtful, and he has spoken truth ; for men have always since doubted of it, and will still doubt, as I believe, whether he be dead or alive.'—Wace Brut. MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

This book is also not mentioned as Jeffry's by the contemporary, Alanus de Insulis. He wrote his commentaries on Merlin's prophecies on it, after Henry II. had acceded, and after his five sons were born, and after one of these died, and while the other four, Henry, Richard, Geoffry and John, were alive ; Al. Proph. p. 90, 1 ; and therefore between 1168, when John was born, and 1183, when Henry died. In this work he never mentions Jeffry, though he obviously had the book before him ; but as Jeffry and others had styled it ' The British History,' so he refers to it three times, as the ' Historia Britonum,' pp. 34. 99. and 182. quoting each time what we find in Jeffry.

The Walter alluded to by Jeffry, was Walter Calenius, whose name occurs as archdeacon of Oxford in 1110, in the Cartulary of Abingdon, and also in 1138. Tanner Bib. 147. He was the JUSTICIARIUS of Henry. Ib.

Thus the British book was brought into England by one of Henry's great legal officers, his justiciarius—exactly such a source as it would have come from if our supposition be just, that it originated from Henry's policy.

Henry's connection with Wales and Bretagne is very apparent. Of his four bishops, who were residing in his court in Normandy, and whom he sent to the council called by Calixtus, to Rheims, in 1119, two were Welch bishops ; Bernard, bishop of St. David's, and Urban, bishop of Glamorgan. Ead. 124. These were also

two of the four prelates who attended him at Abingdon, on the consecration of the bishop of Chester; *Ib.* p. 137; as if they were his most confidential prelates; and in his wars in Normandy he is represented as having collected a large number of Breton knights. *Al. Bev.*

After this book came out, we find it was very early transmitted to the most celebrated abbey in Normandy—that of Bec, from which both Lanfranc and Anselm had proceeded; the place most likely to give it credit in Normandy.

For all these reasons it seems a warrantable inference, that the *British History* which Jeffry latinized, was composed or adopted to suit the policy of Henry I. and to counteract the effect of Turpin's book, and was patronised by him and his successors for its political effect. Henry's literary taste favours the supposition.

## C H A P. VII.

*On the Lays and Fables of Marie.—On the style of the Norman Trouveurs, and its progress into the present French.*

BOOK  
II.

THE most interesting of all the Anglo-Norman fictitious poetry, are the lays of Marie<sup>1</sup>. Being taken from Breton tales, they are extremely curious, as they show the ideas, imaginations and feelings, of which some of these consisted; and as no other have been preserved that can compete with them in antiquity, they may be considered as presenting to us some of the Breton tales in their most genuine form. They are far more pleasing in their incidents and their mode of narration, and for their conciseness, fancy and impression, than any of the endless stories in their myriads of verses of the old romans.

As she calls herself Marie, and says she was of France<sup>2</sup>, it is reasonably inferred that she was a native of that country; and most probably, from her connection with England, of its province of Nor-

<sup>1</sup> M. Roquefort has printed her lays, fables and other poems, in two volumes 8vo. Paris, 1820. The chief MS. of her work is in the British Museum, Harl. N° 978, whence M. de la Rue recommended it to public notice, in his memoir printed in *Archæol.* v. 13. p. 36—67.

<sup>2</sup> She names herself several times. In her first tale, 'Oiez Seigneurs! ke dit Marie.' 1. p. 48. In her work on the Purgatory of St. Patrick, 'Je Marie,' 2. p. 499; but at the end of her fables she thus more fully describes herself, 'Marie ai num: si sui de Fraunce.' 2. p. 401.



mandy. She addresses herself to a king<sup>3</sup>, whom she afterwards calls Henry<sup>4</sup>; and as she speaks of him as knowing English, it is generally admitted that this was Henry III<sup>5</sup>. Former writers knew only her fables, till M. la Rue observed the MS. of her lays in the British Museum<sup>6</sup>. Her fables are dedicated to a count William<sup>7</sup>, who is believed to have been William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, the natural son of Henry II<sup>8</sup>. That her poems were in high repute in her day, we learn from her contemporary, Denys Piramus<sup>9</sup>.

She evinces great anxiety for literary reputation; evidently thinks her tales will produce much moral improvement in society; talks of her own merit, and intimates that she had enemies who disturbed her<sup>10</sup>. That her Lais afford much information on the manners of the thirteenth century; that her descriptions are faithful and amusing; that she fixes attention by the choice of her subjects, and by the interest she gives

<sup>3</sup> In the prologue to her lays, 'En l'honneur de vos, nobles reis.' p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> 'Le rois Henris qui moult l'amor de translata puis en Engleiz,' 2. p. 401. Her words imply that Henry turned them into English, and she, afterwards, into French. 402.

<sup>5</sup> See M. Roquefort's remarks on this fact, p. 12, 13; and yet it may be Henry, the son of Henry II. who died 11<sup>th</sup> 3.

<sup>6</sup> See his Essay on her poems in the Archæol. v. 13.

<sup>7</sup> 'Pur amour le cunte Willaume.' p. 401.

<sup>8</sup> Roquef. 20.

<sup>9</sup> He thus speaks of them;

'Ses lais soleient as dames plaire  
De joie les oient et de gre,  
Car sunt selun lor volente.'

B. Mus. MSS. Domit. A 11.

<sup>10</sup> See her prologue to her lays, 42—46; and the beginning of Gugemar, 48.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

them; that she frequently speaks to the heart by the situations of her heroes, by the catastrophe, and by her power of transferring her own feelings to the reader; and that her diction is simple and natural, and though free and rapid, yet omitting no detail; and that she may claim the praise of good taste, pleasing thought, and an unaffected sensibility<sup>11</sup>, are the just commendations of her editor, which no one who studies her writings will be disposed to diminish. His remarks, that her fables display a distinguished good sense, a sprightly simplicity in the mode of telling them, and a justness in their moral application, and that even Fontaine may have studied them to his own benefit<sup>12</sup>, are equally unexceptionable. We have before observed, that her *Lais* are all Breton stories, and they prove that fairy tales were prevalent in Bretagne. I once thought it unlikely that Bretagne could have had any connection of mind with Arabia, or the east, to whom fairies and genii seem most appropriated; but since I have observed that Marbodius, who died 1123, and was bishop of Rennes, in Bretagne, professed to have translated his poem on precious stones from one made by Evax, king of Arabia, and in that poem makes several allusions to the Arabs<sup>13</sup>, I cannot but feel, although

<sup>11</sup> M. Roquefort's notice, p. 14, 15.

<sup>12</sup> Roquef. *ib.* 21.

<sup>13</sup> This work of Marbodius was in Latin, and has been quoted in this volume before. What Duclos saw, and called the most ancient poem in the old French that was known, (*Acad. Inscript.* v. 26. p. 302,) is but a translation of it, the date of which is not certain. Du Than's poems are older. In this translation Marbodius thus mentions Evax:

Evax fut un mult riche reis  
Lu regne tint des Arabais.

this ascription of his work to such a source may have been a fiction, yet that it rather indicates that the Breton mind had, as Mr. Warton thought, some acquaintance with Arabian literature, at least in reputation, and had so much respect for it, that it was creditable in Bretagne to refer to it<sup>14</sup>. Yet fairies were not unknown in Wales, and therefore may have been from that country naturalized in Bretagne<sup>15</sup>.

Several of Marie's tales are founded on the agency of supernatural beings, though of the more agreeable kind, and of Breton origin. There seems to have been in every age, and yet to be in every country, a taste for the supernatural. There are few bosoms

Mult fut de plusieurs choses sages :

Mult aprist de plusieurs languages :

and makes him contemporary with Nero.

<sup>14</sup> See before, p. 278.

<sup>15</sup> M. Roquefort has published with the *Lais*, a liberal French translation of them, which may be read with pleasure. The *lays* are fourteen :—*Lai de Gugemar*, son of Oridial, lord of Leon, in Bretagne; *Lai d'Equitan*, lord of Nantes; *Lai du Fresne*, containing the history of a noble lady of Bretagne, an exposed child; *Lai de Bisclaveret*, a Breton knight; *Lai de Lanval*, also a Breton knight; *Lai des deux Amants*; (there is yet, near Rouen, the priory *des deux Amants*); *Lai d'Ywenec*, a Breton knight; *Lai du Laustic*, on the adventures of two knights of Bretagne; *Lai de Milon*, a similar knight; *Lai du Chaiuivel*, the survivor of four who fought for a lady of Nantz, in Bretagne; *Lai du Chevre Feuille*, an episode of the romance on *Tristan*; *Lai d'Eleduc*; *Lai de Graellent*; *Lai de l'Epine*, all on knights of Bretagne. Mr. G. Ellis has given an analysis of them in his *Specimens of early Romances*: and the observations upon them of the last editor of Warton's *History*, vol. 1. deserve perusal; though he mistakes in saying, p. lxxxv. that I have 'produced Alfred's apophthegms as the first specimens of English prose.' It was the additions of his own thoughts, which Alfred had inserted in his *Boetius*, that I thought might be considered as the first specimens of essays in our country.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

which have not some sensibility to its impressions. All have at times mysterious feelings, which it is a labour to suppress. We tend both to believe and to desire something superior to humanity, and thus nature herself has given us that impressibility, to which writers of genius have so often appealed, and seldom appeal entirely in vain. It is pleasing to many to dream of the improbable.

That the human mind has sympathies, which cannot be defined, for the unknown, which it is unable to penetrate; and for the invisible, which it is ever desiring to animate and embody, is shown by the amusement which even they who deride the fancies of their forefathers, yet find in pourtraying chimerical imaginings of their own. Even these will still regale themselves with creating beings, places and events that have no reality on earth. They find a gratification to themselves in peopling the obscure and unseen with habitants that exist only in their own inventions<sup>16</sup>. Imagination, especially in youth, is eager to attempt to frame something better than what we see, and to muse on agencies superior to any that are known to be possessed. It would seem, that man must cease to feel before he ceases to fancy; and that until thought is torpedied by death, he will still continue to do both. This tendency to be interested by supernatural machinery is not wholly unserviceable; it acts as a check on materializing

<sup>16</sup> Manfred, Frankenstein, the Monk, St. Leon, Goethe's Faustus, Undina, the Ghost Seer, and a crowd of German productions, are evidences of the secret craving of many, even where no established belief is favoured, for something that is not human, but which is superior to man, and capable of inflicting evil upon him, or of imparting to him some superior good.

theories. These divest life of all its sublimity, and of hope's sweetest paradise, and turn the man into an instinctive brute. But all fancies of superhuman beings lift up our eyes to something better than ourselves; they lead us to look beyond our material world to some invisible and immaterial agency, which commands and can control it. They suggest possibilities which it is delightful to contemplate; and though their landscapes be wild, and the agents fantastic, yet they keep the mind from believing that our fleshly structures are the real and only beings of the man. All tales of genii, fairies and apparitions, operate insensibly to create within us a sensation of spiritual existence which no abstract reasoning can produce. It is absurd now to fear that the reality of these dreams of fancy should be believed—and therefore their impressions cannot injure. Hence all tales of this sort, which interest without demoralizing, may be classed among those amusive gaieties of the sportive fancy, which increase the intellectual happiness of life; and as our richest pleasures are now derived from the mind, it is policy to multiply and to vary, not to diminish them. Taste may lawfully make these fictions more tasteful, and reason more reasonable in a reasoning age; but neither society nor true philosophy would gain any thing by their merciless and indiscriminate proscription.

Of Marie's unearthly beings, the predominant fancy is that of affectionate fairy ladies; and we find them in her lays named 'Fees'<sup>17</sup>; so that this word is at least as ancient as the year 1200. Our ancestors certainly believed their existence. But it is not necessary now to say seriously with Spenser in his pleasing lines,

<sup>17</sup> Marie's Lays, p. 100. There is no sufficient reason to believe, that this word 'fec' is derived from the Persian peri.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

‘That all their famous antique history,  
Of some, th’ abundance of an idle brain,  
Will judged be and painted forgery,  
Rather than matter of just memory :  
Sith none that breatheth living air does know  
Where is that happy lond of Faëry,  
Which I so much do vaunt yet no where show<sup>18</sup>.’

because every one now is satisfied, that ‘Fairy lond’ exists nowhere but in the records of the olden muses, and there it is yet pleasing to trace its unsubstantial inhabitants as our forefathers depicted them. No part of our ancient vernacular literature pourtrays them so fully or agreeably as Marie, and her representations may be contemplated as a part of the popular mind of our ancestors, as well as of the Bretons in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

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Extracts, showing the more imaginative parts of Marie’s Lays :

IN the first, ‘Gugemar,’ she describes a white hart and her fawn, ‘foun.’ The knight drew his bow and wounded her foot ; but his arrow flew back on himself from the fairy hart, and piercing his thigh, caused him to fall from his horse. As he lay on the ground the moaning hart exclaimed, ‘Ai me ! alas ! I am killed ; and thou, Vassau ! who hast wounded me, this shall be thy destiny ! never shall you have medicine, neither by herb nor root, nor by mire, nor by potion, shall you be cured of the wound in your thigh, till one shall suffer for your love as great pain and grief as any woman has ever yet endured, and you shall feel as much for her ; so that they who love and have loved shall wonder at it. Go, and leave me in peace<sup>19</sup>.’

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By the sea side Gugemar finds a vessel of ivory, with sails of silk. Nothing alive was in it. The bed was like the work of Solomon, enriched with gold and precious stones, and made of cypres and ivory. Its quilt was African gold tissue. Its coverlet was a sebelin, cut from Alexandrine cloth. Two candelabras of fine gold,

<sup>18</sup> Spenser’s Faery Queen, book 2. p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Marie’s Lays, p. 56—8.

with gems worth a treasure, enlightened the apartment. It moves of itself over the sea<sup>20</sup>.

CHAP.  
VII.

LAYS AND  
FABLES OF  
MARIE, &c.

*Her Bisclaveret.*

FORMERLY many men became garwalls, and had their houses in woods. A garwall is a savage beast; his rage is so great that he devours men, does great mischief, and lives in vast forests. The Bretons call them 'Bisclaveret'<sup>21</sup>.

A 'ber' (a baron) and beau chevalier had married an amiable woman. He loved her and she him; but every week she lost him for three entire days, and never knew where he went. She urged him to tell her why he was thus absent, and he at last confessed, 'Lady, I become a bisclaveret, and go into yonder great forest, into the thickest of its woods, and live on prey and roots. I go quite naked.' She asked him where he put his clothes? 'Lady, I will not tell you this, because, if I should lose them, or be seen, I should remain always a bisclaveret.' She importuned him; and he then added, that in an old chapel in the forest, in the hollow of a great stone, under a bush, he placed his apparel until he resumed it to return home.

Abhorring such a husband, she revealed his secret to a young chevalier, who went and seized the garments. The bisclaveret returned to her no more, and she married the chevalier.

A year afterwards the king hunted in the forest where the bisclaveret dwelt; the dogs discovered and chased him, with all the company. He became much torn and wounded, and was nearly taken, when he ran to the king, and holding his stirrup, and kissing his leg and foot, implored his mercy. The king exclaimed, 'See, my lords! this wonder; how this beast humbles himself; he has the sense of a man; he cries for mercy; drive the dogs behind; take care that no one hurts him; the brute has understanding; my peace shall remain with him, and I will hunt him here no more.'

The king turned back and the bisclaveret followed him and would not leave him. The king became attached to him, and kept him in his palace. He was all day among the knights, and lay down in the evening near the king. He was so frank and debonaire, and so careful to hurt no one, that every body loved him.

<sup>20</sup> Ib. p. 60—2.

<sup>21</sup> Ib. p. 178. The French story of Mons. Oufle is built on the idea that he fancied himself to be a loup-garouz, or man-wolf. The garwall of Mary is the loup-garouz of the more modern French.

The king some time afterwards held his court, and summoned all his barons to it; his wife and her new husband came among them. As soon as the bisclaveret saw this knight he flew upon him, and seized him with his teeth, till the king threatened him with his rod. Twice he again tried to bite his enemy. All wondered at this peculiar conduct; it was thought that he had lost his reason. When the feast ended every one departed home.

Some time after, the king went to hunt in the forest where he was found; the bisclaveret accompanied him. The wife besought an audience of the king, and came richly dressed; the animal flew upon her and tore off her nose. All were then going to cut him in pieces, when 'un sages hom,' a wise man, remarked to the king, that as the creature injured no one else, he must have some cause of complaint against the knight and lady, and counselled that she should be imprisoned till she discovered why the beast hated her. This was done; she confessed her conduct, and that he might be her husband.

The king had the clothes brought that had been taken, and gave them to the bisclaveret, who took no notice of them. The prudent man suggested that he would not put them on in public, and advised that he should be left alone in his own room, with the garments. This was done, and the king some time afterwards entering his apartment, saw a baron sleeping in his bed<sup>22</sup>.

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### Her *Lanval* is founded on a fairy lady.

WHEN Arthur distributed his gifts to his counts and barons, and to those 'de la table raunde,' he gave none to the chevalier Lanval, the son of a distant king, who was serving him.

Lanval, mortified to be so overlooked, resolved to quit the court, and mounting his steed left the city, Carduel, and travelled till he reached a meadow, through which a stream was flowing.

As he felt his horse tremble he dismounted, and letting the animal feed at its pleasure, he folded his mantle, reclined his head upon it, and lay in pensive meditation. Looking towards the river, he saw two damsels coming from it, more beautiful than were ever seen before, and richly clothed in purple. The eldest carried a basin of enamelled gold finely made, and the other a napkin.

They advanced to him as he lay, and he, who had been well taught, rose immediately on his feet. They saluted him; and one said, 'Sire, Lanval! my lady, who is very courteous and beautiful, sends us for you; come with us—we will conduct you safely.

<sup>22</sup> Marie's Lays, 178—200.

Sec, there are her pavilions.'—He went. The queen Semiramis, or the emperor Octavian, never had a more splendid tent. A golden eagle of inexpressible value was on its top. No king on earth could have one so costly. Within this reposed the lady, surpassing in beauty both the lily and the new blown rose. She was reclining on a bed so handsome, that its cloth was worth a castle. Her mantle was of white ermine, covered with Alexandrine purple; and as the heat caused some part to be uncovered, a neck and face were seen whiter than the Maythorn flowers.

H CAP.  
VII.

LAYS AND  
FABLES OF  
MARIE, &c.

She called him; he sat down. She told him that for his sake she had left her country; that she loved him, and if he would be preux and courteous, no emperor, queen or king, was so happy as he should be. He answered her with sympathetic feeling. She promised him wealth so abundant, that the more he gave the more he would have. They married; but she annexed one condition to his felicity: 'Tell no one of me, or you will immediately lose me; if our love is made known you will never see me again.' He vowed silence and fidelity. She added, "Now rise and go away, you cannot remain longer here; but when you wish to speak with me, let it be where a person may meet his beloved without reproach or villainy, and I will come, but no one except you will see or hear me.' The damsels brought him the richest dress; he washed his hands, sat down to a repast, and was then led to his horse, on which he returned to the city. He was continually looking back, unable to understand his own adventure.

He entered his hotel, and kept a liberal hospitality without knowing whence his resources came; he treated richly every knight who came; released prisoners; clothed the jongleurs, and gave presents to every one.

Unfortunately the queen of Arthur became attached to him. Her vilifying reproaches roused him to declare, that he loved and was loved, and that any one of those who served his lady excelled her in heart, face, beauty, understanding and goodness. The queen accused him falsely to Arthur, who ordered him to be burnt if he did not justify himself.

When alone in his apartment he called his fair one, but she came not to him; he had violated the condition, in talking of her, and he saw her no more. The king put him on judgment before his barons; and one of them proposed that to vindicate himself, Lanval should produce before them the lady he had boasted of; he told them that this was not in his power.

As the barons were about to pronounce judgment, two damsels



## BOOK

## II.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

on white horses, in robes of silk, of a vermilion colour, appeared and asked the king for canvas and materials to encurtain a chamber, where their lady might be lodged : two others, still handsomer, came mounted on Spanish mules. Soon afterwards appeared a lady, wonderfully beautiful and superbly dressed, on a little palfrey, with splendored housings ; she had a falcon on her wrist, and a greyhound followed her. Lanval raised his head, and saw that it was his beloved. She advanced to Arthur : ‘ King ! I have loved your vassal ; the queen was wrong : if my presence is to acquit him, let your barons release him.’ Lanval was pronounced innocent, and the fairy lady led him to Avalon, that delightful island, where they lived happy <sup>23</sup>.

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Another of her tales exhibits a *Transformation*.

THE young wife of an ancient lord was shut up by his fears in a tower. One day she saw at her window the shadow of a great bird. It flew into her room, placed itself by her, and soon became a handsome and genteel knight, and solicited her affection. She asked him if he believed in God : he said he did believe in his Creator, ‘ who is, and was, and will be, the life and light of sinners.’ He added, that if she would order her chaplain to perform the divine service, he would take her form, and receive the eucharist. He did so. He then bade her conceal their acquaintance, as he must die if she discovered it. An old attendant, by hiding herself, saw him enter and depart as a bird. The husband was informed of it, and had placed at the window some steel blades, as sharp as a razor, which pierced him when he next came to it. Covered with blood he flew away. She escaped from the tower ; traced him by his blood to a cottage—to a meadow—to a city—and to a castle, where she found him dying on a bed, of which the drapery and surrounding chandeliers were worth all the gold of a kingdom. His son was to avenge him. The husband and some friends travelling afterwards to a distant city, came to a rich abbey, in the chapter-hall of which they saw a large tomb, covered with rich gold, embroidered tapestry, and surrounded with twenty wax tapers, burning in golden chandeliers, amid incense of amethyst. They inquired whose it was, and were answered, ‘ The best and noblest, and most beloved knight that ever lived ; he was the king of this country ; no one was so courteous ; he was slain for a lady’s love, and since he died we have had no lord.’

<sup>23</sup> Marie’s Lays, 202—250.



The wife exclaimed to the son, 'It is your father who lies there; this old man killed him.' She gave him the king's sword, and fell dead. The youth then beheaded her ancient spouse <sup>24</sup>.

CHAP.  
VII.

LAYS AND  
FABLES OF  
MARIE, &c.

Her *Graelent* again displays a fairy lady.

THE lay of *Graelent* is founded on the incident of his seeing a fairy lady bathing near a fountain in a forest. She promises to love him truly. 'But one thing I forbid you—you must not say a word by which our attachment can be discovered. I will then give you most richly money, clothes and silver, and night and day I will be with you: though you should see me go away, yet yet you may laugh and talk with me. You shall have no companion that can see me, nor know who I am. *Graelent*! You are loyal, preux, courteous and handsome; for you I came to the fountain; for you I have suffered many a pain. Take care that you boast not of it, or you will lose me. You must remain a year near this country, but you may be errant for two months; then repair hither, for I love this country. Now depart. Nones have struck. I will send my messenger to you.'

He returned to his hotel, and looking out of his window at the forest, now so dear to him, he saw a varlet leading an ambling palfrey to him—none was so beautiful, so swift, or so gentle. 'I am the messenger of your friend; she wills me to be with you; I will pay your debts and take care of your household.' The varlet then opened his trunk, and took out a spacious coat, 'coute,' rich stuffs and ornaments, which he spread on the bed, and plenty of gold and silver, and rich apparel. *Graelent*, thus provided, rewarded all who had been kind to him, and ordered his host to keep his house full of good provision, and to invite the poorer knights of the city who wished to live with him. His host did so, and went in search of the poor knights, prisoners, pilgrims and crusaders, brought them to the hotel, and took care to honour them. All night instruments of music were played, and other delights followed. In the day he was richly apparelled. He gave great gifts to harpers, to prisoners, and to players. There was not a burgess of the city to whom he did not lend money, or who did not do him as much honour as they performed to their lord. His beloved was often with him. There was not a tournament in the country in which he did not distinguish himself—the knights greatly loved him.

The king had the habit, on his festive days, of showing his

<sup>24</sup> Marie's Lays, 272—313.

## BOOK

## II.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

queen to his barons, and asking them if the earth contained a finer woman. Graelent never acquiesced in their preferring eulogies. This roused his displeasure, and Graelent was at last excited to tell the king, who inquired if he knew her superior. ‘ Yes, one worth thirty of her.’

The enraged queen insisted on his producing her competitor. A year was allowed him—but he had broke the spell; she visited him no more. The year expired: the king accused him of insulting his wife by a falsehood. The appointed judges were about to condemn him, when two beautiful damsels in laced dresses appeared, and dismounting from their palfreys, told the king that their lady would come and release the knight; two others more handsome followed, and then the Fairy lady was seen. Her manner was grand, her countenance mild, her eyes sweet, her face lovely, her movement charming. She was magnificently clothed in purple embroidered with gold—her mantle was worth a castle, and her steed, with its trappings, at least a thousand pounds—all pressed forward to behold her, and every one praised her.

She came on horseback before the king, and then dismounted and addressed him. She blamed Graelent for what he had said, but appealed to the king himself, whether she was more beautiful than his queen. This could not be denied. Graelent was released; and when she urged her palfrey through the city, he eagerly followed her, imploring her mercy; but she answered not a word. They at length reached the forest, where the river was flowing in a pure and lucid stream. She sprung into it. Graelent was about to follow, when she exclaimed—‘ Fly—enter not—if you attempt it you will be drowned.’ He regards her not, and plunges in. She catches his bridle, and leads him to the bank—again cautions him not to follow her, and disappears under the water. He persists in going into the river. The waves began to overpower him, when the maidens of the lady entreated her to pity and to forgive him. She relented, and drew him out; had his wet garments taken off, covered him with her mantle, and then conducted him to her own country, where the Bretons say he is living still. The fairy horse, missing his master, withdrew to the forest, and was never at peace again. He was always striking the earth, furiously neighing, and allowed no one to take him. The report was, that every year at that season he was seen at the river-side seeking his master, neighing and calling for him<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Marie’s Lays, 486—540.

The **FABLES** of Mary claim an Englishman's attention from the fact, mentioned only by her, that one of our kings, named Henry, translated those of *Æsop* from Latin into English, which she afterwards rimed into her Norman French. This must have been our Henry I. or else Henry II; but the probability seems to be, that it was Henry I; both of whose queens were attached to letters, and who was himself distinguished by the title of 'Beau Clerc.' Mary's general style is an easy, concise, natural and intelligent narration<sup>26</sup>. She has annexed a 'moralite' to each; and some of these do credit to her good sense and moral taste, and furnish many particulars of the manners of her day.

It gives us rather a painful view of society to read after the hares and the frogs—

They ought to think of this  
Who wish to move away  
And abandon their ancient place.  
What will come afterwards to them.  
They will never find a country  
Nor reach a land  
That they can be in without fear,  
Or without labour, or without grief<sup>27</sup>.

Toil and sorrow almost all must expect to share; but that no place could be lived in without alarm, is a strong picture of a lawless and disorderly period. But how could it be otherwise, since the following *moralité* was no doubt taken from her experience, when she added it to the two wolves and the lamb.

These are the *rich* robbers—  
The *sheriffs* and the *judges*,

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<sup>26</sup> Some of these Le Grand has amusingly translated in his *Fableaux*, v. 4.

<sup>27</sup> Roquefort's *Marie*, v. 2, p. 161.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

On those whom they have  
In their judicial territory,  
From covetousness, a false occasion,  
They find sufficient to confound them,  
And compel them into their courts;  
There they score their flesh and their skin,  
As the wolves did to the lamb<sup>28</sup>.

To the fable of the dog suing a sheep, she adds :

This example shows you,  
What many men prove,  
Who by lying and by tricking (trichin)  
Frequently implead the poor,  
And adducing false witnesses,  
Force the poor to pay them.  
They care not what befalls the unhappy,  
So that they share the profit<sup>29</sup>.

The oppression of the rest of society by the great, is also implied in many other moralités. We will only add another on the wolf and the crane.

So it is with a bad lord,  
If a poor man works him honor,  
And then asks his reward,  
He will never receive any ;  
Altho in his administration  
The great ought to thank him for his life<sup>30</sup>.

The following is a specimen of her more serious moralités.

The wise man ought rationally  
To beseech the Omnipotent God,  
That He would do his own pleasure :  
From this great good may come :  
For God better knows what will suit us,  
Than hearts which change and move<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Roquefort's *Marie*, v. 2. p. 67.

<sup>29</sup> *Ib.* p. 77.

<sup>30</sup> *Ib.* p. 85.

<sup>31</sup> *Ib.* p. 393. Her *Purgatory of St. Patrick*, v. 2. p. 411, has been pleasingly abridged by Le Grand, v. 5. p. 126.

Besides the two descriptions of the Anglo-Norman poetry already noticed, the history and the romance, the clergy also wrote in verse the Lives of Saints, and moral treatises<sup>32</sup>. Their rimed biography, however, added nothing to the national poetry, although one of them, Denis Piramus, in the reign of Henry III., really added, though unheeded, to the national history<sup>33</sup>. In their moral treatises in verse, a greater approach to poetry was exhibited. The poem of bishop Grosteste was at least an allegory,

CHAP.  
VII.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

Lives of  
Saints, in  
verse.

<sup>32</sup> As Guerne's Life of Thomas à Becket. It contains about 6,000 lines, in stanzas of five lines of the Alexandrine cast, riming together, which he thus describes—

Le vers est dune rime en cinc clauses cuplez  
E bons est mes langages e en france fui nez.

MS. Harl. 270.

Chardre's St Josaphat and the Seven Sleepers, comprises between four and five thousand lines. He mentions the preference given to the romans of fiction—

Ke plus-tost orrium chanter  
de Roulant e de Olivier  
e les batailles des duze peres.

MS. Cott. Calig. A 9.

See M. de la Rue's Dissertation, Archæologia, vol. 13. p. 234.—We see how anxiously these rimers sought for reputation, in Chermans, who wrote *La Genesis de St Marie*. He takes care to say—  
Jeo ay a noun Chermans, ne ubliez mye mon noun.

MS. Harl. N<sup>o</sup> 270.

<sup>33</sup> His work is called the Life of St Edmund. It is, in fact, a rimed excursive history of East Anglia. But it is remarkable for giving a truer account of Ragnar Lodbrog, the Danish sea-king, than any of the Saxon Chroniclers furnish. It makes him, as he was, a powerful and cruel pirate, renowned for his exploits on many a shore, and declares Ingvar, Hubba, and Biorn to have been his children.—MS. Cott. Domit. A 11. As this is almost the only ancient document we have that approaches the true history of these incidents, I have cited the passage at length in the 4th edition of the *Anglo-Saxons*.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

with some effort at description<sup>34</sup>; and the stories introduced by Wadigton, in his *Manuel des Peches*<sup>35</sup>, are occasionally told with traits that show a few of the first faint gleams of poetical feeling. There are some other poems of the Anglo-Normans not unworthy the notice of the curious antiquary<sup>36</sup>. One of

<sup>34</sup> It is in the Harl. MS. N° 1121. After treating of Paradise and the fall of man, it begins a strange allegory, with the account of a king, who had a son and four daughters: the son was our Saviour; the daughters were Mercy, Truth, Justice, and Peace. The son enters a castle “*bel et grant* ;” and the poet occupies two long columns in describing it. This castle was the Virgin Mary! See extracts from it in M. La Rue’s essay in the *Archæologia*.

<sup>35</sup> This very curious work is in the British Museum, among the Harleian MSS. N° 4657 & 337. He thus names himself—

*De dei seit beneit chescun hom  
Kyrie pour Wilham de Wadigton.*

<sup>36</sup> In the MS. containing Chardre’s work, is a dialogue between youth and age, intitled, *Le Petit Plet*, containing about 1,800 rimed lines.—The anonymous continuation of the *Brut of Wace*, contains the remarkable fancy of the council held by the conqueror to determine the dispositions of his three sons. See *La Rue’s Dissert.* 13. p. 242.—Among the Harleian MSS. is the poem called “*Le Sermun de Guichart de Beau lieu* ;”—and another poem, of moral precepts, by *Helis de Quincestre* (Winchester) which he says he takes from *Cato*—

*Ki vult saveir la faitement  
Ke Katun a sun fiz prent  
Sen Latin nel set entendre  
Ci le pot en romanz aprendre.—MS*

In the King’s library at Paris, there is a translation of *Dares Phrygius* into French rimes, by Godfrey of Waterford, an Irishman of the jacobine order, in the thirteenth century.—*Warton*, 1. p. xxiii. from *Mem. Lit.* 17. p. 736.

The reader who wishes to enlarge his knowledge of the history of ancient romance, will be gratified by Mr. Weber’s “*Illustrations of Northern Antiquities, from the earlier Teutonic and Scandinavian Romances* ;” and by the elaborate accumulation of curious circumstances in the last editor’s preface to *Warton*, which, how-

the most curious of these, for its subject, is the Institutes of Justinian in verse, already alluded to<sup>37</sup>.

The character of the Anglo-Norman poetry, from its happy consequences to our taste and intellect, merits a distinct contemplation.

The verbal style of the Anglo-Saxon poetry was the arrangement of their words into short lines, with a simple cadence without rime, and with some alliteration. Omissions of their particles, and forced inversions, were also used. This form was not a very valuable style of poetical diction, except that it was, perhaps, the parent of our Miltonic blank verse: but it was at least harmless. This epithet, however, cannot be justly applied to the mental character of their poetry; that was of a vicious cast. It consisted, wherever it departed from prose, of abrupt transitions, ambitious metaphors, and repeated periphrasis.

From these peculiarities arose a barbarous species of poetry, which it was impossible even for genius to improve. The inversions and transitions occasioned perpetual obscurity, and, in conjunction with their violent metaphors, precluded the presence of nature or elegance, feeling or beauty. The metaphor and the periphrasis could be exalted only into extravagancies and absurdity. The more their genius laboured to excel in this savage dress, it became but the more fantastic; in striving to be original, it could only commit more daring outrages on language and common sense. This effect appears in the poems of the Northern scalds, who continued the Saxon style after

CHAP.  
VII.

ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

Style of  
the Anglo-  
Saxon  
poetry.

Its great  
defects.

ever, are rather materials for thought than the establishing of any certain system.

<sup>37</sup> The author of this was Richard D'Annebaut, an Anglo-Norman. Archæol. v. 13.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

the Anglo-Saxons had abandoned it ; and it must be obvious to every one, that when poets had to struggle with each other to express objects so common and so hacknied, as ships and heroes, kings and swords, by new metaphors or periphrasis, the more active their fancy, the more unnatural must have been its creations. In this strange competition, ships were not only called—the keels that ride the surge, the ploughers of the ocean, the chariots of the waves, and the floating pines—which are strong, yet perhaps allowable phrases ; but by these poets they are also styled—the wooden coursers of Gestils, the sky-blue doves, the snorting steeds adorned with ruddy gold, the monsters of the deep<sup>38</sup>—which are in the worst taste of uncultivated imagination. To call the sword a blue serpent, and arrows the southern flies boiling up from the caverns of the quivers<sup>39</sup>, are extravagancies of absurdity which may indeed be paralleled in the modern Persian<sup>40</sup> literature, but which European taste has long learnt to disavow.

Its decline.

The Norman conquest, which introduced not only a new sovereign, but also a new race of landed proprietors, into England, of foreign language and with

<sup>38</sup> See the *Hrafn Malom*, or Raven's Ode, of Sturla, on Hacon's expeditions against Scotland, published with a Translation by the Rev. J. Johnstone, 1782.—In other Northern poems, ships are called a crane, a serpent, the ravens of the harbour, the wooden oxen, the oxen of the bays ; and wounding another is expressed as sprinkling the tongue of the wolves. So shields are termed, the clouds of battle ; gold, the earth of the serpent ; and the sea, the belt of the Islands. See Snorre's *Heimskringla*.

<sup>39</sup> Our Ethelred, in his *De Bello Standards*, has this violent metaphor. 1 Decem Script. p. 345.

<sup>40</sup> Einant Ollah, in his *Tales*, has carried this style of poetry to that happy excess which ensures its own depreciation.

foreign manners, abolished this bloated style. The Anglo-Saxon harpers were unintelligible to the Norman barons<sup>41</sup>, and were therefore banished from the halls of the great, and the court of the prince; and with them their Anglo-Saxon poetry disappeared. How fortunate an event this was to the real improvement of the English mind, will be felt by all who take the trouble to study the specimens of the loftier species of the Anglo-Saxon poetry, which we have in *Beowulf*, and the usual poems of the Northern scalds. Such is the obscurity and peculiarity of the poem of *Beowulf*, that no industry would now suffice to make it completely intelligible.

CHAP.  
VII.ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.

The intercourse between Normandy and Denmark diminished, as the power of the French monarchy became attenuated among its feudal lords. The Normans, enjoying their national independence secure from foreign insult, had no occasion for further aids of their rude kinsmen in the North. Hence their domestic connexions with Scandinavia had so completely ceased in the eleventh century, that their language retained scarcely a vestige of their northern origin. Of course the poetry of the scalds became unfashionable and unpopular in Normandy, when it was no longer intelligible. It would need as much translation as the Anglo-Saxon; and it had no attractions, when translated, that could be put into competition with the minstrels of Provence or Bretagne.

These minstrels came with one quality that had an irresistible effect on a people beginning its mental cul-

The  
simpler  
character

<sup>41</sup> Ingulf says, that the Normans so abhorred the English speech, that even their grammar was taught to the boys in the schools Gallice, not Anglice. p. 71.

BOOK  
II.  
LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.  
of the  
Anglo-  
Norman  
poetry.

tivation ; and this was, their easy intelligibility. No poetry could be more humble in its kind, than the popular lays of the minstrel, and the larger effusions of his clerical rivals, as far as we can judge from their few remains and abundant imitators. As compositions, their chief merit was that plain simplicity, which, to the low state of the common intellect of society in their days, was found the most popular. As poetry, it had but one characteristic, which may be expressed in one word—rime. Rime was the great distinction between the prose and poetry of the vernacular language of Normandy, in the twelfth century ; and for a considerable interval, it had nothing else to boast of. The use of this peculiarity by the Anglo-Normans, unquestionably arose from its prevalence in the poetry of their neighbours, the Franks, the Bretons, and the Provençals<sup>42</sup>.

The obligations which we are under to these Norman Trouveurs for their style, and therefore the bene-

<sup>42</sup> The Troubadours contributed somewhat to the sudden rise of the Anglo-Norman poetry ; for two of its earliest versifiers, Sanson and Wace, mention two of their favourite compositions, the Tençon and the Serventeis : Thus Sanson—

Ki eue lait corre e purer  
Chef de tencons le oi nomer  
Cil ki sa lange ne refreine  
Lait eue aler de boche pleine  
E ki sa boche ne refreine  
De tencons est chief e fontaine.

MS. Harl. N° 4388.

And Wace—

Mais ore puis jeo leinges penser  
Livres escrire e translater  
Faire rumanz e serventeis  
Tant truverai tant seit curteis.

MS. Bib. Reg. 4. C 11.



ficial improvements which they introduced in both the thought and feeling of our countrymen, as well as into the modes and power of expressing them, have not been sufficiently appreciated. We are too familiar now with language to think of the original difficulties of primeval composition, although no attainment of human science is more honourable to mankind, or must have every where been more arduous and wonderful than the formation of an exact, copious, expressive, forcible and harmonious language, and the precise and flexible connection of it with the instantaneous, multifarious, and ever-varying emotions and perceptions of the human soul. For the most part, it has been the gradual and imperceptible production of the mind under its successive wants, impulses and experience<sup>43</sup>. But men in all ages and countries have arisen, who have both purposed and successfully exerted themselves to add new improvements, new words, new phrase, new softness, new

<sup>43</sup> M. Auguis has well described some part of this process in the formation of the French tongue from that of the Norman Trouveurs. 'Notre langue, qui commença à naître environ vers le dixième siècle, et qui a changé tant de fois jusqu'à Louis XIV. n'a pas moins varié dans la prononciation et dans l'orthographe que dans les éléments qui la composent; et à mesure que la nation s'est polié, et que la société s'est perfectionnée, on a cherché à adoucir les sons âpres et rudes qui étoient si multipliés dans la langue de nos pères, et que les barbares du Nord avoient apportés avec eux. L'euphonie insensiblement rendit les mots plus harmonieux et plus doux, le nombre des consonnes qui se heurtoient diminua: l'organe glissa plus mollement sur des prononciations qui le fatiguoient. On supprima des lettres à l'oreille: on adoucit surtout l'aspérité des finales: quelquefois on introduisit des e muets pour servir comme de repos entre des syllabes dures; mais la langue écrite qui devoit suivre du même pas la langue parlée, resta encore longtemps en arrière. Les Poètes Fran. jusqu'à Malherbe, Disc. Prel. 7.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

melody, new varieties, new abbreviations, new synonyms, new compounds, new metaphors, new applications, new discriminations, and new arrangements of diction. We see this manifestly in the artificial Sanscrit. We feel it in the Greek; and we have it acknowledged by Cicero; and we can trace it ourselves in the classical Latin. The process is still more visible in the French and English. The Anglo-Norman Trouveurs first improved their own language, which has become that of modern France; and the English mind taught by them so to think and speak in their Roman French, rapidly introduced into our Anglo-Saxon English all their cultivation, flowers and fruits, as soon as it turned its genius and literary labours to that language, which has now become our vernacular speech, and may yet diffuse itself to be the prevailing language of the largest part of the world. This triumph will depend upon the continued and superior excellence of our future thinkers and writers.

That language which combines in its compositions the greatest quantity of verbal beauties, of intellectual wealth, of elegant taste, of pure ethics, and the best sympathies and emotions of the heart, is the most likely to become the most studied, the most universal, and the most permanent tongue. Every English author should therefore strive to continue and increase the charms of his native diction, and to connect it with the noblest and most interesting pursuits and effusions of the cultivated, moralized and sanctified spirit.

Personal fame, useful patriotism, and the sublimest philanthropy will be sweetly blended in the felicitating employment. Base subjects, trifling little-

nesses, unprofitable rubbish, and mischievous extravagancies, will then no longer degrade the British press; nor withhold it from the sovereignty to which it is fully qualified to aspire, and which every misleading author contributes to prevent.

Mankind will never, in the free action of their will, extensively or continuously patronise the evil, or the inferior, in any department of human action or inquiry.

We may consider six languages as having pretensions, and some of them as actually contending to become the habitual speech of our Norman ancestors; and through them, of all France. They carried with them their *Norwegian* tongue from their rough northern ocean; they settled themselves close by the *ancient British* in Bretagne, divided only by hedges and rivers; they found in France, in which they at first prowled for booty, and with which they always maintained a favorite intercourse, three languages, that had been struggling for predominance; the *ancient German* of the Franks<sup>44</sup>, the *Provençal* of the southern provinces<sup>45</sup>, and the more latinized *Romane*<sup>46</sup> of the interior and northward districts;

<sup>44</sup> The remains of their Franco-Theotric language have been collected by Schelter, in his *Thesaurus*. Its grammar is in *Hickes Ant. Sept.* Its most ancient monument is the oath of Louis the German, transmitted to us by *Nithardus*.

<sup>45</sup> *M. Raynouard's Choix des Poesies des Troubadours*, contains some of the specimens of their language and poetry. *Auguis*, in his *Poetes Francois before Mulherbe*, begins with some of the *Provençal* writers, but consists chiefly of the *Trouveres*, and their successors, the oldest French poets.

<sup>46</sup> The Anglo-Norman poems are specimens of this, and their authors frequently call their language the *romanz*. Thus *Gaimar* :

‘ Il purchasar mainte esamplaire  
Liveres engleis e par grammaire  
E en *romanz* e en latin.’

MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

and they became the chief proprietors of land in an *Anglo-Saxon* population.

With all these languages to choose from, they dropped, by a process untraceable now, their native Norwegian. They avoided the Franco-Theotisc, the Breton and the Provençal; and before they invaded England, had naturalized indelibly among them that Romane tongue, which, in its old form, has survived to us in the Anglo-Norman remains<sup>47</sup>, and in its newest form constitutes the modern French. It has been regretted by one of the latest writers on the ancient poets of France, that instead of this the Provençal did not become the national language<sup>48</sup>. He thinks it would have given to it, by its full, sweet, and sounding terminations, a finer idiom than any other<sup>49</sup>. But no nation can choose its diction from the taste of its literati. The uncultivated population of every country attach to it the language they use and prefer, long before poets compose, philosophers reason, or taste decides. These may engraft or prune, but

<sup>47</sup> Although all France now uses the language of their Trouveres, as its national tongue, yet England has the credit of exhibiting the earliest specimen of it in the laws of William the Conqueror, which our Ingulf has preserved. Its most ancient work, in verse, is thought to be the translation of the Latin poem of Marbodius on the precious stones, written about 1123. Aug. xviii.

<sup>48</sup> The two languages have been called, from their words for 'yes,' *Lingue d'oc*, and *Lingue d'oïl*. 'On nomme encore le Provençal, *Lingue d'oc*, et le Wallon *lingue d'oïl*. Après trois siècles d'existence, la langue des Troubadours s'éteignit par une nouvelle corruption, et parce qu'elle ne fit aucun progrès. Le Roman Wallon, que les Trouveres employoient se conserva, se perfectionna peu à peu; et c'est de ce dialecte qu'est venu le François.' Auguis *Disc. Prel.* from *Sism.* v. 1. p. 259.

<sup>49</sup> M. Auguis says, 'Il est clair que la langue d'oc étoit plus digne de devenir la langue dominante: elle nous eut donné, par ses terminaisons pleines, douces et retentissantes, un idiome aussi beau que nul autre.' *Dis. Prel.* xii.

cannot eradicate one speech to plant another; and therefore, as our Anglo-Troveurs found their *Romane* or Norman French in full use at the Anglo-Norman court, and among its nobility, even when embosomed in England, they made it the language of their literary effusions. From the time at least of Hugh Capet<sup>50</sup>, it had become decidedly the language of all the French provinces north of the Loire; and their new compositions in it completed its predominance in the amalgamated nation of the future France; and before the thirteenth century ended, France could enumerate the works of one hundred and twenty-seven poets<sup>51</sup>. Its antiquaries, however, complain, that the language was not improved adequately to such a literary use of it, while the Italians, with more successful attentions,

<sup>50</sup> ‘Cette romancerie, proprement dite, remonte jusqu’à Hugues Capet; et se multiplie prodigieusement.’ Aug. D. Pr. xi.

<sup>51</sup> Auguis, *ib.* Our own times and country have seemed peculiarly prolific in poets; but even in what are misalled the dark ages, we read that ‘from Guillaume IX. who died 1122, to Malherbe, who was born 1556, or in 434 years, there were no fewer than 600 poets in France; nearly one and a half a year.’ M. Auguis’s work presents specimens of the chief of these. We sing that ‘Time has thinned our flowing hair;’ but what a havoc has he made in the Parnassus of every country!

‘Tandis que l’Italiens imitoient la syntaxe latine, que leurs finales, toujours pleines, se prêtoient tout de suite à l’euphonie, et que le passage d’une langue à l’autre étoit presque imperceptible; que, pressés ou lents, doux ou âpres, forts ou passionnés, sublimes et sonnans, ou simples et paisibles, leurs écrivains pouvoient donner à leur gré à la langue poétique de la souplesse et de la variété; qu’ils pouvoient raccourcir ou allonger leurs terminaisons après les quatre liquides, adoucir une quantité d’autres mots par des abréviations diverses, avoir dans des modifications de finales des modifications d’idées; en un mot, se créer, par des exceptions légères et faciles, une langue poétique entièrement séparée de la prose. Nous qui avons été leurs premiers maîtres, nous ignorions encore le génie de notre propre langue.’ Auguis, *ib.* xiv.



or by more fortunate accidents, were giving to their tongue a superiority of euphonous beauty<sup>52</sup>, which no other European nation has either equalled or outdone. Francis I. drew the French out of its barbaric state<sup>53</sup>, and extended to it the royal encouragement, by ordering it to be used instead of Latin in the tribunals and public acts. Marot first<sup>54</sup> gave elegance, melody and ease to its poetry; which Malherbe, rescuing it from the pedantry and artificial compounds of Ronsard, made more correct, regular, rythmical and select. Amyot and Montaigne introduced many analogous improvements into its prose; Corneille added dignity and force, and Racine blended with it all that sweetness, charm, refinement, taste and colouring<sup>55</sup>, which foreigners as well as natives both feel and admire; while Fenelon allied to it all the graceful simplicity, intelligence, perspicuity and delicacy of his own elegant mind and pure heart.

<sup>52</sup> Auguis, Dis. Prel. xiv. Algarotti has left a very pleasing Italian essay on the French and Italian languages, which will reward perusal for its sweetness of diction and good sense.

<sup>53</sup> Auguis, *ib.*

<sup>54</sup> Of Marot, who, as a poet, he calls elegant, but as a prose writer, ‘indigeste et obscur,’ M. Auguis says, ‘il s’attacha aux termes, et aux tours que le frottement de l’usage avoit le plus adoucis. Toutes les rimes agréables, toutes les phrases coulantes, échappées au hasard des vieilles pleines Francoises, il recueillit et employa.’—He showed ‘que la grace du François reside dans une tournure facile, vive, serrée, et surtout claire et directe.’ Aug. *ib.*

<sup>55</sup> ‘Le veritable fondation de notre langue poetique, en France, fut Malherbe.—Cette correction suivie que personne n’eut avant Malherbe.’ Corneille added new force, and Racine gave it ‘plus de charme,’ and caused it to descend from its ancient majesty ‘à une jeunesse plus riante et plus douce.—Il mela plus de couleurs à ses tableaux, il perfectionna l’art des nuances; et repondit sur elle un éclat de figures et d’ornemens qu’elle n’avoit point connu jusqu’alors.’ Aug. *ib.*

No circumstance could have been more auspicious to the rise of true poetry in England, than to have had in its infant state such a simple and yet marking characteristic as rime. The first Anglo-Norman verses were so completely dull and barren prose, that, if they had not possessed this distinguishing feature, it is hard to conceive how their poetry could have obtained a separate growth and peculiar cultivation; yet such was the rude and feeble state of the public mind, that if the characteristic of its poetry had been a laborious difficulty, it would have made no progress, nor attracted imitation. In all the arts and sciences, many of all classes must be tempted to study, judge and practise them, before excellence can be formed; before the chance occurs, of genius being possessed by some of the cultivators. But from the abundant consonancies which all languages retain, rime is a form of composition as easy of practice as it is a marking feature. It is a light and pliable fetter, which genius may play with as it pleases. It was so trifling a restraint to our literary ancestors, that they composed in it works which in their length might daunt even a Sir Richard Blackmore. Wace has left us ten poems in Norman French, of which one alone contains 12,000 verses<sup>56</sup>; and his contemporary, Beneoit, has bequeathed to us two historical poems that present us with at least 60,000 rimes<sup>57</sup>. Gaimar emulates this fertility; and many other of the estories and romans are as prolific<sup>58</sup>. Even the Latin

CHAP.  
VII.ANGLO-  
NORMAN  
VERNA-  
CULAR  
POETRY.Facility of  
its rime.

<sup>56</sup> His Brut, Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.—His poem on the History of Normandy, Bib. Reg. 4. C 11. is much *longer*.

<sup>57</sup> The Harl. MS. N° 1717, on Normandy, contains about 45,000 lines; and the MS. N° 4482, on Troy, about 15,000.

<sup>58</sup> The roman entitled Les Gestes de Garin, Bib. Reg. 20. B 19.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

language, with all its march of dignity, was found to be so ductile to this popular beauty, that Bernard de Cluny, in the twelfth century, composed a Latin poem in 3,000 verses, riming in the middle and at the end<sup>59</sup>; and the work of Friar Amand, intitled, *Speculum humanæ Salvationis*, consists of above 5,000 Latin rimes<sup>60</sup>. Nothing therefore seems to have been easier than to write in rime, especially when nothing else was aimed at.

Its advance to  
English  
poetry.

The great benefit produced by the naturalization of rime in our national poetry, was the abolition of the affectations and distortions of the Anglo-Saxon style, and the introduction of the artless language of nature and perspicuity. The homely verses of our Anglo-Norman forefathers established a taste for simplicity and intelligibility, and framed a poetical diction, that permitted the heart to speak its feelings without restraint. No mental revolution could have been more beneficial. Without simplicity and perspicuity above 25,000 rimed lines. It resembles some of the Welsh poetry, in continuing the same rime for many lines together. Thus 25 lines end in *ie*—followed by 18 in *on*—and 31 in *er*. Its metrical form may be seen from six lines :

Bene chancon plest vos que je vos die  
De haute estoire e de grant baronie  
Meilleur ne puet estre dite noie—  
A St. Denis en la mestre Abbaie  
Trouvon escrit de ce ne doute mie  
Dedans un livre de grant entesorie.

And see the Roman de Florimont, and indeed all the rimed romances—they are all emulously wearisome in length.

<sup>59</sup> *De contemptu mundi*, dedicated to Peter, abbot of Clugny, about 1125. Fauchet, p. 66.

<sup>60</sup> Harleian MS. N° 26. and Cotton MS. Vesp. E 1. The last gives the author's name.—The *Speculum Stultorum*, MS. Titus, A 20. has nearly 4,000 lines, riming in the middle; and all Walter Mapes' Latin poems are rimed apparently with great ease.

spicuity, no poetry is genuine, no genius impressive; with these essential requisites, every true grace and beauty, the most moving pathos, and the most elevating sublimity, may be happily combined. Hence, although, by having little else than rime, our vernacular poetry was born in its humblest state, yet it thereby appeared the true child of nature. It has since grown to strength and beauty, as the national civilization has advanced. Every generation has seen it disclose new charms, and acquire new excellencies, till it has attained to such majesty, such universality, such richness, such energy, and such polish, that the nation has yet to appear, to whose superiority the genius of English poetry must do homage<sup>61</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> Of the Troubadours, it may be mentioned, that only three of their romances in verse have survived. M. Raynouard states these to be—1. Gerard de Roussillon; which may be placed in the beginning of the twelfth century, if not before. It is on his wars with Charles Martel, and contains above 8,000 verses of ten syllables, in consecutive rimes.—2. On Jaufre, son of Dovon, one of the knights of Arthur, describing his adventures in pursuing the ferocious Taulat de Rugimon, who had struck dead with a lance one of the knights of the round table. It comprises above 10,000 verses of eight syllables: it may be referred to the beginning of the thirteenth century. The 3d is Philomena; which contains the exploits of Charlemagne in the south of France against the Saracens, written apparently before 1200. Many other romances are mentioned in the works of the Troubadours, which have perished. *Choix des Troub.* v. 2. p. 284—298. They have a chronicle of 10,000 verses on the war against the Albigenes, by Guill. de Tudela, p. 283.

## C H A P. VIII.

*On the Origin and Progress of Rime in the Middle Ages.*BOOK  
II.Mental  
effects of  
rime.

AS rime has become the principal characteristic of all English poetry but the dramatic, in which it cannot be successfully naturalized, it deserves a more enlarged consideration.

Of all the forms of modern poesy, though other metrical modes of verse have been tried, and with grand and pleasing effect, yet rime appears to have been the most universally liked, the most frequently praised, and the most abundantly practised. Rythm, cadence and metre may exist without it; but with all these it associates; and adds to them its own peculiar pleasurable-ness; and therefore, in its most perfect composition may be said to present the most perfect versification of English poetry. It is a sovereign which admits of viceroys, companions and allies, but which seems to claim to itself the superior throne, and to have the power of giving to poetry an elegance, a melody, a strength, an intonation, a sweetness, and yet also a pathos and a grandeur, which its absence lessens, and which no substitute can so completely supply.

As its effects greatly impress, its principle, like that of all verbal cadence and rythm, must be deeply seated in the human mind. There is a charm in peculiar collocations and sequences, and in the consonancies of words, which the cultivated taste as sensibly feels, and with a gratification as agreeable as



the duly organized and accustomed ear perceives and relishes the harmonies of musical sound. This mysterious effect upon our minds has always formed one of the sweetest enchantments of poetry. What that music of the soul is, which, independently of audible sound, can be awakened and pleased by unknown sympathies with the measured order of selected words and syllabic prosody, we have yet to discover; but that there are some fine chords of melodious sensibility within us, the universal gratification experienced from peculiar combinations of syllables, well-cadenced prose, and the metres and consonancies of poetry, impressively indicates. It does not depend upon the ear, because the mind perceives and enjoys the grateful beauty without the use of any organical vocality. The effect is, an intellectual sensation without the instrumentality of sense; and this implies, that there must be something responsive to it in the intellect, which occasions the feeling, and makes that feeling so generally delectable. But, however it originates, it comes in various shapes, and is producible by many verbal arrangements<sup>1</sup>. The ending cadence of the hexameter suited the language and delighted the nations of Greece and Rome. The pentameter, which is less rythmical to us, was yet pleasing to the latter. Their lyrical prosodies had also melodious agencies on their accordant sensibilities, which we cannot adequately enjoy. Instead of these, each of the vernacular tongues of Europe has found and formed from its separate

<sup>1</sup> The treatise of Demetrius Phalereus de Elocutione; the orations of Isocrates; and the orations and speeches of Cicero, show how much the graces and effect of verbal elocution were studied and valued by the ancients.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

capabilities, positions of words, time, measure, succession and combinations of syllables, modes of enunciation, pauses, flow and cadences of phrase, and connected resemblances of terminal sounds, which constitute the various species of poetical versification, that every nation has appropriated to itself, and loves and cherishes with intellectual delight. Among these, rime has been our property from the era of the Norman conquest; we have withdrawn it, almost without a dissentient voice, from the colloquial poetry of the stage; but we have attached it to every other department of the muse, with a perseverance of approving taste, which no censuring denunciation of it, as the invention of barbarian times, has persuaded us to discontinue.

It is true that it is barbaric to us in its chronology; but it is not barbaric in its primeval ancestry or its mental operation. It certainly came into English composition amid the movements and from the nations of the grand Gothic stem, who broke up the Roman empire, and who introduced the feudal system; the duel, the ordeal, the common law, the jury and the parliament. So far, therefore, like these, it comes from a barbaric lineage; but there is no more reason to brand it as a rude barbarism, a pleasing contagion, or a degrading deterioration<sup>2</sup>, unless all the intellectual improvements which have flowed upon us from the new fountains of mind and pursuits that were opened by our Gothic forefathers, are also to be considered as barbarian innovations.

<sup>2</sup> Algarotti tends to give it this character in his agreeable 'saggio' on rime, in the fourth volume of his 'Opere.' This saggio is an elegant specimen of the rythmical melody which Italian prose can receive from a refined taste.

But rime cannot have had a barbarian origin, because rime is one of the chief poetical forms and graces of the most ancient, the first cultivated, and once most civilized nations and languages of the world. That it was one of the great characteristics of the ancient eastern poetry, and abounds in the Sanscrit and Chinese, in the Arabic, and in the Persian, and that it existed in the Hebrew and ancient Carthaginian, was shown in a former essay<sup>3</sup>. Some of these nations or their ancestors were the primeval stocks of all the civilization and literary mind of the ancient world; and as rime was unquestionably used by them, we may justly infer, that from them it has descended to their branches and descendants.

That the Keltic and Kimmerian tribes entered Europe and its islands from Asia, and were therefore ramifications of the great Oriental trunk, has been shown in the History of the Anglo-Saxons; of these, the Cymry, or the Welsh, were descendants, as well as the Irish and the Gaelic nations; and among all these people, rime has been an inseparable addition to their poetical compositions; unlike in this respect to the Saxons, who used metre and cadence, without rime, in their poetical effusions. All the remains of the ancient Welsh poetry composed in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, uniformly exhibit the riming terminations<sup>4</sup>. That rime, though not made the characteristic of

<sup>3</sup> Printed in the Archæol. v. 14, p. 169, 170, 200. To the instances there given we may add, that the Ethiopian poetry is rimed. Lud. Hist. Æth. l. 4. c. 2; that the Birman poetry is sometimes in successive, and often in alternate rimes; Symes Emb. Ava. 2. p. 399; and that the Malay and Javanese poetry also abound with rime.

<sup>4</sup> These poems are printed in the first volume of the Archæology of Wales.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

the cultivated poetry of the Greeks and Romans, was yet not unknown to them, I attempted to prove, not only from its forming one of the figures of rhetorical and poetical diction particularized by their critical writers on elocution, but from the instances of it which were traced from their compositions, and which seemed not to be casual<sup>5</sup>. It was shown decidedly, that it was used in the Latin popular poetry in the fourth century<sup>6</sup>; and an instance, which I was fortunate enough to find in Aldhelm's works, that had escaped the notice of preceding inquirers, demonstrated that it was known in England in the beginning of the seventh century, and was then used in his Latin poems by this venerated ecclesiastic<sup>7</sup>. The instances which I also adduced from poems of Boniface and his friends, soon after Aldhelm, confirmed this certain chronology of its existence.

But as the old assertion, that it came to us and to Europe from the Arabians, is still repeated by many, as if that wrong theory had never been confuted, it may prevent future mistake, to give in one view a succession of specimens of its previous and continued existence; beginning with St. Austin, who lived at the close of the fourth century.

<sup>5</sup> This idea was pursued in the second part of the above-mentioned Essay, 189—198.

<sup>6</sup> St. Austin used it in his poem against the Donatists. See the first verse of this quoted in the above Essay, p. 188. I owe my knowledge of this fact to the worthy old Welch bard Edward Williams, who has more knowledge of his country's antiquities than any other person, excepting Dr. Owen Pughe. His intimation led me to search in St. Austin's work till I found the poem, printed like prose, for such the incurious editor seems to have thought it.

<sup>7</sup> See the Essay, and also the following pages.

## 1. ST. AUSTIN.—A. D. 384.

His popular Poem against the Donatists.

THIS little work of St. Austin, although printed as if it were prose, in the edition of Paris 1531, is all rimed in E. It is in parts of twelve lines, each part beginning with a successive letter of the alphabet, and divided from each other by a repeat or chorus. The first part was quoted in the before-mentioned Essay. The second part is the following :—

Bonus auditor fortasse quærit, qui ruperunt rete ?  
Homines multum superbi, qui justos se dicunt esse.  
Sic fecerunt scissuram et altare contra altare  
Diabolo se tradiderunt cum pugnant de traditione  
Et crimen quod com miserunt in alios volunt transferre  
Ipsi tradiderunt libros et nos audent accusare  
Ut pejus committant scelus quam commiserunt et ante  
Quod possent causam librorum excusare de timore  
Quod Petrus Christum negavit, dum tenetur de morte  
Modo quo pacto excusabunt factum altare contra altare  
Et pace Christi concissa spem ponunt in homine  
Quod persecutor non fecit, ipsi fecerunt in pace.

I will only add the first line of the next parts :

Custos noster, Deus magne ! tu nos potes liberare—  
- - - - -

Dixerunt majores nostri et libros fecerunt inde—  
- - - - -

Ecce quam bonum et jocundum fratres in unum habitare—  
- - - - -

Fecerunt quod voluerunt tunc in illa cecitate  
.. - - - - -

Gaudium magnum esset nobis, si nunc nollitis errore—  
- - - - -

Honores vanos qui quærit non vult cum Christo regnare—  
- - - - -

Justitia sequi si vultis totam causam cogitate—

It proceeds in the same manner through the other



## BOOK

## II.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

letters of the alphabet, adding twelve lines to each initial letter, and all ending or riming in E.

## 2. VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS.—A. D. 570.

The first verses of one of his rimed poems were cited in the Essay. The three last verses are ;

Accedite ergo digni  
Ad gratiam lavacri  
Quo fonte recreati  
Refulgeatis agni.  
Tibi, laus.

Hic gurgis est fidelis  
Purgans liquore mentis  
Dum rore corpus sudat  
Peccata terget unda.  
Tibi laus.

Gaudite, candidati !  
Electa vasa regni !  
In morte consequuti  
Christi fide renati.  
Tibi laus.

Fab. Bib. Med. v. 2. p. 545.

## 3. COLUMBANUS.—A. D. 615.

Beata familia, quæ in altis habitat :  
Ubi senex non gemit, neque infans vagiat.  
Ubi non esuritur ; ubi nunquam sititur  
Ubi cibo supremo, plebs celestis pascitur.  
Læti leto transacto lætum regem videbunt.  
Cum regnante regnabunt, cum gaudente gaudebunt.  
Tunc dolor, tunc tædium : tunc labor delebitur :  
Tunc rex regum, rex mundus, a mundis videbitur.  
Usher Syll. p. 10.

## 4. DREPANIUS FLORUS.—A. D. 650.

Besides the verses cited in the Essay, another may be inserted here.

Hic namque virtus inclita  
 Plebis beatæ premia ;  
 Hic ipse Christo proflua  
 Servat salutis gaudia.

Mag. Bib. Pat. 8. p. 728.

CHAP.  
VIII.

ORIGIN  
AND PRO-  
GRESS OF  
RIME IN  
THE MID-  
DLE AGES.

5. ST. ALDHELM.—Died A. D. 710.

As this passage gives a firm foundation to the new fact, that rime was known and used by Aldhelm in England, *before* the Arabs invaded Spain; and therefore that it did *not* originate to us from them, I will insert it here. He says, ‘ut non inconvenienter carmine *rythmico* dici queat.’

Christus passus patibulo  
 Atque leti latibulo  
 Virginem Virgo Virgini  
 Commendabat tutamini.

Aldhelm de Virg. p. 297. Wart. ed.

Aldhelm here not only gives us an example, but also the name; he calls it ‘*rythmico*,’ or rimed.

In the same work also occur—

Beata Maria !  
 Virgo perpetua !  
 Hortus conclusus ;  
 Fons signatus ;  
 Virgula radice,  
 Gerula floribus.  
 Aurora solis :  
 Nurus patris.—Ib. p. 342.

Of Aldhelm’s own poetry, there is an epistle printed among the letters of Boniface, which is in Latin rime, of which the following is a specimen.

Cumque flatus victoriæ  
 Non furerent ingloriæ  
 Tremebat tellus turbida ;  
 Atque eruta robora

## HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

Cadebunt cum verticibus  
 Simul ruptis radicibus.  
 Neque guttæ graciliter  
 Manabant, sed minaciter  
 Mundi rotam rorantibus  
 Humectabant cum imbribus.

Carmen Aldh. 16 Mag. Bib. 74.

All these specimens were written before the Arabians invaded Spain, and fully prove the anterior use of rime by a Roman in Africa, St. Austin; by a priest in France, Venantius Fortunatus; by an Irishman at St. Gall, Columbanus; by Drepanius Florus; and by an Anglo-Saxon in England, St. Aldhelm. These instances fully destroy the Arabian theory of the origin of rime.

The following specimens are from the Welch bards, who lived between 500 and 700.

## ANEURIN.—A. D. 550.

A nawr gynhornan  
 Huan ar wyran  
 Gwledig gyd gyfgein  
 Nef Ynys Brydain.

Bwyd y Eryr erysmygei  
 Pan gryssei gydywal cyfdwyreei  
 Awr gan wyrd wawr cyn y dodei  
 Aessawr dellt am bellt a adawei  
 Pareu rynn rwygial dygymmy nei  
 Ygat blaen bragat briwei  
 Mad Syvno symedwydd ac gwyddyei.

Welch Arch. 3, 4.

## TALIESIN.—A. D. 550.

Ni chyfarchaf fi gogledd  
 Ar mei teyrnedd  
 Cyn pei am laweredd  
 Y gwelwn gynghwystledd  
 Nid rhaed ym hoffedd  
 Urien nim gommedd.—Ib. 59.

## LLYWARCH HEN.—A. D. 600.

Pen a borthav ar vy ysgwydd  
 Ni'm arvollai warudwydd  
 Gwae vy llaw lladd vy arglwydd !  
 Pen a borthav ar y mraich  
 Neus gorug o dir Brynaich  
 Gwedy gwawr elorawr vaich.—Welch Arch. 104.

## MYRDDHEN.—580.

Oian a parchellan bychan breichfras  
 Andaw de lais adar mor mawr en dias  
 Kerddorion allan heb ran urddas  
 Gwrthunawd esspyd a bryd gan was  
 Heb godwyd wyneb, hebran urddas.—Ib. 137.

To the citations in the Essay from our Boniface, I will add the following, because it exhibits that precise metre and rime, which nearly four centuries afterwards became the great characteristic of the Anglo-Norman poetry—the eight-syllable rimed verse.

## BONIFACE.—Died A. D. 755.

Nicharde ! nunc nigerrima  
 Imi Cosmi contagia  
 Temne fauste tartaria  
 Hoc contra hunc supplicia  
 Altaque super æthera  
 Rimari petens agmina.—16 Mag. Bib. 49.

The MS. of the work of Theobaldus on animals has been declared to be of the eighth century ; if so, it proves that rime was then in use, although his

authority has not hitherto been known or referred to. But out of his Latin verses on his twelve animals, those on two of them, the spider and the turtle-dove, are in rime. As the work has not been quoted before, I will subjoin them.

## THEOBALDUS.—A. D. 800.

The lines on the spider are very flowing and easy :

Vernis aranea licet exiguus,  
Plurima fila nectit assiduus.  
Qui vivere solet his studiis  
Texere que solet artificitus  
' Sunt ea rethia, musca ! tibi,  
' Ut volitans capiaris ibi.'  
Dulcis et utilis esca sibi  
Huic placet illud opus tenue  
Sed sibi nil valet, nam fragile  
Quælibet aura trahit in patulum  
Rumpitur et cadit in nihilum.

Hos sequitur homo vermiculos  
Decipiendo suos inimicos  
Quos comedit, faciens miseros :  
Et placet sibi inde nimium  
Quando nocere potest alium.  
Ille tamen vicium quandoque facit,  
Cum moritur, quasi tela cadit,  
Quammodo dictus aranea facit.

His rimed verses on the turtle-dove are not unpleasing.

Turtur, inane nescit amore ;  
Nam semel uni juncta marito  
Semper adheret, cum simul ipso  
Nocte die que juncta manebit  
Absque marito nemo videbit  
Sed viduata si caret ipso  
Non tamen ultro nubit amico  
Sola volabit ; sola sedebit  
Et quasi vivum corde tenebit  
Operiens que casta manebit.



His moral application of it is also rimed.

Sic anima extat queque fidelis  
Facta virili federe felix  
Namque maritus, est sibi Christus,  
Cum sua de se pectora replet.  
Si bene vivit, semper adheret :  
Non alienum querit amicum  
Quamlibet Orcus sumpsit illum ;  
Quem superesse credit in ethere  
Inde futurum spectat eundem  
Ut microcosmum judicet omnem.

Theob. Physiologus.

OTFRED.—A. D. 870.

Petrus auur zeli mir  
Bin in liob filu thir ?  
Ist thaz herza thinaz  
Mir unarlicho holdas ?

ST. BERNARD.—A. D. 1100.

Sanguis Tuus abundanter  
Fusus fuit incessanter  
Totus lotus in cruore  
Stas in maximo dolore  
Precinctus vili tegmine !

O majestas infinita !  
O egestas inaudita !  
Quis pro tanta charitate  
Querit te in veritate

Dans sanguinem pro sanguine.

Op. p. 1656.

Pectus mihi confer mundum  
Ardens, pium, gemebundum :  
Voluntatem abnegatam,  
Tibi semper conformatam  
Juncta virtutem copia.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

Tu mentis delectatio  
 Amoris consummatio  
 Tu mea gloriatio  
 Jesu ! mundi salvatio !  
 Veni ! veni ! rex optime !  
 Pater immensæ gloriæ !  
 Affulge menti clarius !  
 Jam expectatus sæpius.—p. 1660.

Sol ! occasum nesciens !  
 Stella semper rutilans !  
 Semper clara  
 Sicut sidus radium  
 Profert virgo filium  
 Pari forma.—p. 1661.

ANSELM.—A. D. 1100.

1. Rimed hexameters ; as those of Anselm on Lanfranc :

Ipse tamen tectus fuit asperitatis amictu ;  
 Semper de vili vivens et paupere victu—  
 Asper in elatos : nulli pro munere supplex  
 Innocuusque bonis et nullo tempore duplex—  
 Omnes electi ! precibus meritis que juvate,  
 Lanfrancum, vestris et nobis consociate.

Lanf. Op. Vit. 17.

PETER.—A. D. 1140.

2. Hexameters ; sometimes riming in couplets and sometimes in the middle of the line, where the author could not produce the terminal consonance. Thus Peter, a friend of Malmsbury, who calls him a versifier to be ranked among the most eminent, writes on an abbot, beginning with a studied alliteration :

Vir probus et prudens, vir vere consiliorum  
 Extera ditavit, curavit, et intima morum.  
 Omnibus instructus, quos tradit litera fructus.  
 Ad decus ecclesiæ, vertit monumenta Sophiæ  
 Omnibus imbutus quas monstrat physica leges  
 Ipsos demeruit medicandi munere reges.—Malm. 253.

3. Our ancient Hoveden has tried some quatrains of Latin rime on his admired contemporary Richard I. The two first are,

Graves nobis admodum dies effluxere,  
Qui lapillis candidis digni non fuere,  
Nam luctus materiam mala præbuere,  
Quæ sanctam Jerusalem constat sustinere:

Quis enim non doleat tot sanctorum cædes?  
Tot sacras Domino profanatas cedes?  
Captivatos principes et subversas sedes;  
Devolutos nobiles ad servorum pedes?—Hoved. 666.

Six others follow.

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BERTERUS.—A. D. 1150.

4. Those of Magister Berterus on the crusades, are more like some of the forms of the vernacular poetry. It ends,

Cum attendas ad quid tendo,  
Crucem tollas, et vovendo  
Dicas, ILLI me commendo  
Qui corpus et animam  
Expendit in victimam  
Pro me moriendo.

Then follows what has been the chorus to the preceding parts :—

Lignum crucis  
Signum ducis  
Sequitur exercitus.  
Quod non cessit  
Sed processit  
In vi Sancti Spiritus.—Hoved. 640.

Specimens of the rimes of the Anglo-Norman poetry may be seen in the quotations before made in this volume.

The above instances present a continuing sequence of the use of rime in various parts of Europe, from the fourth century to the twelfth, and with varied metres : and these specimens, connected with those adduced from the Oriental languages, lead us, unhesitatingly, to infer, that rime has been an appendage to poetry in all ages and countries, from its earliest composition to the present day, and is no more peculiar to the Arabians than to any other nation on earth.

To complete this subject, it only remains to make a few observations on that form of verse called Leonine, in which the middle of every line rimes with its termination.

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#### ON LEONINE RIME.

IT is well known, that the verses in which the middle syllable rimes with the ending one, as those from *Thierricus*, below, have received the appellation of *Leonine rimes*. How anciently they were so named, appears from the instances quoted by *Du Cange*, *Gloss. Med.* v. 2. p. 251.

Thus, *Ægidius Paris* :

*Nec minus in sacris, melico sermone leonem  
Ludentem historiis, et quem intepuisse dolemus.*

*Karolin.* 1. 5.

*Thierricus Valliscoloris* :

*His replicans clare, tres causas explico quare  
More leonino dicere metra sine.—Vit. Urb.* 4.

*Episcopus Senogall* :

*Quia passus leoninos.—Itin. Greg.* 11.

Guill. Guiart :

Et cils qui ne set en sa rime  
Qu'est consonant, ou leonime.

Metulinus :

Ut haberet leoninitatem in versu.—Grec. c. 15.

From these, and especially from the first citation, Du Cange infers that they were called Leonine, 'because they were invented by a certain Leo, a poet, who lived about the time of Louis VII. or Philip Augustus.'

This opinion is also an ancient one ; for Eberhard Bethuniensis, who wrote in 1212, thus expresses, in the third part of his 'Labyrinthus :—

Sicut, inventoris de nomine, dicta leonis  
Carmina, quæ tali sunt modulanda modo.

His instance is

Pestis avaritiæ, durumque nefas simoniæ.

Fab. Med. Lat. l. 11. p. 776.

I am not fond of opposing ancient authorities, who being so much nearer the time of actual knowledge, must have better materials for judging than we can possess. But yet this theory is so wrong as to the origin both of the verse and the name, that I cannot discharge the duty I have undertaken, of exhibiting, as far as I am able, the historical truth on the main subjects of attention in the middle ages, without ending the error, and attempting to elucidate the actual fact.

1st. There are no works of such an assumed Leo extant, and nothing known about him ; and no chronology, country, parentage, profession or situation really or justly applied to him.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

2d. Verses or lines thus rimed did not originate in the middle ages, but were known to both the Greeks and Romans; and such coinciding sounds are noticed as one of the verbal graces of ancient composition. See *Aquila Romanus* in *Antiq. Rhet.* p. 23.

3d. These are thus also noticed by our venerable Bede,

*Hæc figura poetæ et oratores sæpe utuntur. Poetæ hoc modo.  
Pervia divisi, patuerunt cæcula ponti.*

*De Tropes. Ant. Rhet. p. 378.*

4th. Above two centuries before the arbitrary placing of this fancied inventor Leo, a long poem of several hundred hexameter verses, all Leonine rimes, was composed by a German lady, *HROSVITHA*, on the actions and life of Otho, the emperor of Germany, who married the daughter of our Anglo-Saxon Athelstan. She brings her work down to the year 967, about which time she finished it. The following specimen is a part of its beginning:

*Et cum te libri, laudantes congrue multi,  
Post hoc scribentur, merito que placere probentur,  
Ordine postremus, non sit tamen iste libellus,  
Quem prius exemplo, constat scriptum fore nullo,  
Et licet imperii, teneas decus Octaviani,  
Non dedigneris, vocitari nomine regis.*

*Rer. Germ. Reub. p. 162.*

5th. They were also used by *MARBODIUS*, who died 1123, at the age of 88, and whose poem *De Gemmis* has been already noticed. This was written in classical metre; but three others of his Latin verses are in Leonine rimes.

Thus, his '*Historia Theophili Pænitentis*:'

*Quidam magnorum, Vicedomus erat meritorum  
Theophilus nomen, tenuit quoque nominis omen.*

## His Paraphrase of the Canticles :

Quem sitio votis, nunc oscula porrigat oris.

CHAP.  
VIII.

ORIGIN  
AND PRO-  
GRESS OF  
RIME IN  
THE MID-  
DLE AGES.

## His Vita Alexii :

Prestans magnatis, summe vir nobilitatis  
Stemmata Romanus, effulserat Eufemianus.

Fab. Bib. Med. l. 12. p. 47.

6th. PHILIP DU THAN wrote his poems between 1120 and 1135, entirely in them. I cite his lines on the turtle, as I have given before those of Theobald, which seem to have been his original.

Turtre, ceo est oisel, simple caste e bel,  
E sun malle aime tant, que ja ci sun vivant  
Altre malle non aurat ; ne puis que il mourat  
Ja altre ne prendrat, tut tens puis le plaindrat  
Ne sur veit ne serad, signefiance jad.—Nero, A 5.

These citations completely disprove the claim of any Leo, stationed near the year 1200, to the invention of this species of rime. But then, whence came the name? I submit that we may thus account for the origin of it, without creating any person for that purpose.

The Physiologus of Theobald was a poem which, however moderate its real pretensions, was a considerable favorite with our ancestors. Its being printed so soon after the discovery of printing, and its being so often referred to by authors in the middle age, prove its popularity. Now it happens, that its first subject was the lion, and that he wrote this in those middle riming lines, which were subsequently, and I think, from this very work and part, denominated Leonine.

These lines have been quoted in a preceding part

BOOK  
II.  
LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

of this work\*, and the present author is inclined to believe, that their popularity, by one of those capricious accidents which sometimes occur in human affairs, occasioned the term Leonine to be applied to this sort of verse, though Theobald was not its inventor; as the name America became fixed on the great western continent, though Americus Vesputius was not its discoverer.

\* See before in this volume, p. 274.

## C H A P. IX.

*History of the Introduction of the Arabian Sciences into England.*

WHILE the vernacular literature of the Anglo-Normans was thus slowly advancing from rimerd chronicles to rimerd romances, and by deviating into the romances in prose began to form a prose style of narrative composition, which must have improved the phrase of the conversation of the day, and have gradually increased the power of expressing the new associations and distinctions of thought that were every where arising in the minds of the studious, three important mines of intellectual wealth were opened in England and Europe, principally by Arabian scholars, or by those who acquired and cultivated their attainments. These were, the scholastic philosophy, which revived that activity of mind which the Grecian vanity had so much abused, and the gross habits of the Romans had so long paralyzed; those mathematical sciences, which the Grecians had imported from Alexandria, and had forgotten; and that natural and experimental knowledge, which neither Greeks nor Romans had ever much or permanently valued or pursued. Without these essential additions to the English intellect, the vernacular literature would have profited little, because it had nothing but vague feelings, uncultivated and rude 'estories,' unsifted from fable, and rarely connected with moral instruction, to impart. The great national improvement that

CHAP.  
IX.

soon became discernible in England after the twelfth century, arose from the combined operation of the scholastic vigour and penetration of thought, of the sublime deductions and unerring reasoning of the mathematical sciences, and of the stream of knowledge, perpetually enlarging, that began to pour into the world from natural and experimental philosophy. The crusades, and the commerce which they made necessary, added largely to our geographical information. The busy intermingling of the most active minds of all the nations and habits of Europe, in the Palestine expeditions ; and the dangers, suffering, vicissitudes and' romantic adventures, which were every day occurring in their prosecution ; roused the human sensibilities into perpetual activity, and put them under perpetual discipline. From all these sources of improvement, the general tone of social mind was in England, as in varying degrees also, on the continent, enriched and enlivened, and the vernacular languages were polished, strengthened, enlarged, and exercised. The riming and prose literature already alluded to, first made these languages fitted for the use of the expanding mind of the day ; and when the knowledge from all the channels we have noticed, began to flow around, cultivated individuals appeared every where ready to imbibe, and ambitious to increase it. Mental originality, increasing judgment, refining taste, and critical moral feeling, emerged with augmented frequency in every succeeding age ; and have impressed upon the English nation that love of truth, science, reason, and sensibility, which has made our intellectual progress unintermitted, and is rapidly educating human nature to powers, knowledge, and virtues, which may cause



its future history to be some atonement for its former degradation and abuse.

To put the human mind into this position, from its state of poverty and debility in the fourth century, it was necessary to destroy that literary taste for sophistry and rhetoric, for contentious theology and vapid declamation, which had enslaved it so long. But to keep the Gothic nations, in the ductile period of their ignorance, from the fascinations of the vain philosophy and elegant but corrupting mythology of Greece, and yet to convey to them the mathematical sciences of its Egyptian colony; to abolish the profligate system of Roman manners, the enervating despotism of the Roman government, and its oratorical cast of mind and forms of education; and yet to benefit society by that perfect taste, solid judgment, and manly style of thought, which the best Roman classics in their best passages contain; and to introduce the still nobler improvements which divine truth imparts and creates, as the reason becomes enlightened and enlarged, were effects so incompatible and opposing, that reason might have despaired of the possibility of their production. These contrary events, however, have occurred; and it is a worthy employment of the human intellect, to consider the means by which, in the very hour of its apparent destruction, its effective reformation was commenced and ensured.

The demolition of the Roman empire by the Gothic tribes ended that state of manners and literature, whose pernicious tendencies have been stated. The various attempts of the different Gothic nations to revive the study of the Roman literature, which would have renovated the evil from which it was

CHAP.  
IX.

INTRO-  
DUCTION  
OF THE  
ARABIAN  
SCIENCES.

Apparent  
destruction  
of litera-  
ture.

The æra of  
its reform-  
ation

become necessary to liberate mankind, signally failed. In Italy, the irruptions of the fierce Lombards, employed and invited by the generals of Rome<sup>1</sup>, and made triumphant by its incurable vices<sup>2</sup>, spread every where that havoc and desolation, which extirpated the Roman manners, letters and language, from their parent soil<sup>3</sup>. In England, the barbarous Northmen pursued the civilizing Anglo-Saxons and the Franks; and the merciless Huns, the German nations; when these several peoples began to derive their mental education from the Roman literature. Rather than that this should be re-established, it was better that the intellect of the European nations

<sup>1</sup> We learn from the Lombard historian, Paulus Diaconus, that Narses, preparing to attack Totila, the king of the Goths, who had retaken Rome, invited the assistance of the Lombards. Their sovereign, Alboin, sent a chosen body, who, after the defeat of the Goths, returned to their national settlements in Hungary. *De Gest. Langob.* l. 2. c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Narses released Rome from the Gothic dominion, and also repressed the Huns. His reward for these services, more decisively beneficial to the Romans than even those of Belisarius, was their base and invidious applications to the court of Constantinople for his removal. In revenge, he is stated to have urged the Lombards to invade Italy. *Paul. Diac.* l. 2. c. 5. If his avarice occasioned his unpopularity (4 *Gibb.* p. 427.) and his treason the Lombard irruptions, the vices of the greatest man of his day are but a stronger exhibition of Roman depravity.

<sup>3</sup> See before, page 4.—Tiraboschi, and his pleasing abridgers Landi and Zeno, as well as Muratori, paint forcibly the devastations of the Lombards; and yet so thoroughly spoilt had the Italian population been, that in the tenth century, Ratherius describes the Italians as peculiarly profligate, as using incentives to make themselves so, continually drinking wine, and neglecting education. *Murat. Ant. It.* 832. Some of the popes of this century, and their patronesses, harmonize with this political description. Even Baronius, who can varnish most things plausibly, abandons these in despair.

should for a season lie wholly fallow, visited only by the dews of heaven, and agitated by the tempests of their stormy life, till the time should arrive, in which a superior vegetation could from other sources be introduced.

CHAP.  
IX.

INTRO-  
DUCTION  
OF THE  
ARABIAN  
SCIENCES.

But it was necessary to raise somewhere this superior vegetation, from which society was to derive a new intellectual life—knowledge, new empires—and human happiness, new hopes.

At the very period when the Lombards were destroying the last vestiges of the Roman empire<sup>4</sup>, an obscure people, little known before, was raised to sudden greatness from a corner of Asia, to perform the same work of destructive conquest, but with more beneficial consequences, in the Eastern or Grecian empire. The Arabians in the seventh century overran Syria, Egÿpt, Persia, and Africa, and in the next age, Spain, with that facility which can only be explained by the superiority of mental energy and the hardy virtues over moral debility and corruption, acting in the execution of the divine will. The literature of the Greeks, their proud and turbulent hierarchy, their civil and religious factions, their polemical theology, and unprincipled manners, expired wherever the Mussulmen triumphed. To human eyes, the alarming revolution seemed the annihilation of knowledge, and the establishment of ignorance and imposture in the government of the world. It was indeed a period of severe discipline and distress; but it emancipated Christianity from the bondage, feuds and perversions, that were destroying

Progress of  
the con-  
quering  
Arabs.

<sup>4</sup> In 568, Alboin crossed the Alps, and invaded Rome. In 569, Mohammed was born.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.Their uti-  
lities and  
virtues.

it. It uprooted the effeminate vices, that would have made the continuance of the Greek empire a perpetuity of degeneracy. It was a temporary swoon, from which the mind awakened with new powers, and soared to brighter regions.

The intellectual and moral benefits of the temporary predominance of the Arabian fanatics, were durable and manifest. It abolished the Magian fire-worship of Persia, which the Parthian empire had been upholding, and might have established in the East. It terminated the idolatry that prevailed in many parts of Arabia and its vicinity, and even still in Syria. It obliterated the wild, ascetic superstitions of ever-dreaming Egypt; the arrogant and profligate hierarchy, and the contentious theology, of the Greeks, Christians in name, but worse than Pagans in conduct. And as its victories spread, the debased manners, the wretched polity, the corrupt jurisprudence, and the imbecile administration of the court of Constantinople, expired, by which its provinces had been long oppressed, and their population spoilt. The hardy zealots of Arabia combined their imposture and their fierceness with so much personal merit, that they edified the conquered world with new examples of virtues then almost obsolete—of temperance, frugality, love of justice<sup>5</sup>, constancy that no difficulties could repress, liberality scarcely credible, piety reverential and fervent, and an activity of

<sup>5</sup> Of the peculiar love of justice of the ancient Saracens, we have the strong testimony of a contemporary Christian chronicler: "In legalitate Saraceni, et in justitia *omnes* alias mundi *superant* nationes." Anon. Ital. ap. Murat. p. 940. Their own writers display abundant instances of the other virtues mentioned in the text.



practical mind so efficacious and irresistible, that their triumphs seemed half miraculous, from their rapidity and repetition. But no people that was on the earth, when the Arabians first emerged, comprised so many qualities then wanted for its improvement, as these energetic descendants of Ishmael and Joktan. They had their vices, and they headed a calamitous imposture; but the virtues in their national character, and even some of the principles of their mental errors, were then prolific of advantage to the progress of society. In the present state of man, the good of the human character, cannot be had unmixed with evil. In every generation the shades are diminishing, the lights increasing; but while they are still commingled, the very instruments of human progress will only partially benefit; and all that can be done as yet seems to be, that in every age, the nation most calculated to advance the general improvement, shall be the most predominant while its utilities continue operative. When the Arabians sprang from their secluded deserts, to triumph over the East, they obtained the successes by which the ameliorating progress of our species was then most effectually advanced. All the benefit being communicated, which their agency could impart, their triumphs ceased. The vices of their ardent temperament, fermenting with their prosperity, and the mischiefs of their false system, operating more extensively as their moral qualities declined, their political, intellectual, and social utilities departed with their virtues. Competent to produce only temporary good, the empire of the Saracens was restricted to its efficacy;

CHAP.  
IX.

INTRO-  
DUCTION  
OF THE  
ARABIAN  
SCIENCES.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.Ancient  
literature  
of the  
Arabs.

when it ceased to be advantageous to mankind, it was broken up; and new kingdoms, with new qualities, new tendencies, and new contemporary utilities, were raised unexpectedly to existence and to greatness, to produce and to undergo the new vicissitudes of influence, conquest and power, and the internal modifications and revolutions, which in succeeding time would most contribute, and which have most contributed, to meliorate the world.

When the Arabs emerged from their deserts, under the caliphate of Abubeker, to attack the Grecian empire, they had no literature but poetry with wild imagery and strong feeling<sup>6</sup>, and no science, but a slight tincture of that knowledge of the stars which their pastoral observations or ancient superstitions had preserved. These scanty attainments almost perished in their fanaticism for their Koran, whose heterogeneous composition they admired so fervently, that their prophet appealed to it as a miraculous authentication of his mission, and defied men and genii to equal it<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Their poets were accustomed to hang up their verses on the sacred Caaba. Seven of these poems, older than Mohamed, have been translated and published by Sir William Jones, in his *Moallakat*, Lond. 1783. In parts, they resemble very much the Song of Solomon, especially those of Tarafa and Lebeid. The poem of Hareth has more affinity to the Proverbs. When I read these poems, I am tempted to believe that the Provençal Troubadours may have derived their first inspirations from Arabian Spain.

<sup>7</sup> Mohamed twice rebukes the demand of his contemporaries, for his miracles. Koran, c. 6. and c. 13. But at last adduced his Koran as his authenticating miracle.—“O ye men of Mecca!—if ye be in doubt concerning that revelation which we have sent down unto our servant, produce a chapter like unto it; and call upon your witnesses, besides God, if ye say truth. But if ye do it

Their first expeditions were as destructive to Grecian literature as to Christianity. That they burnt the Alexandrian library<sup>8</sup>, on the decision of Omar their second caliph, that what agreed with the Koran was unnecessary, and what impugned it was pernicious, has been asserted by one historian of their transactions. For their credit it has been wished to disbelieve the incident<sup>9</sup>: but that for a century and a half, the Saracens neglected all literature but their own poetry, tales and traditions; and that Grecian literature disappeared in the provinces they subdued, cannot be disputed; and yet we must not consider the Arabians as ignorant barbarians; they were a branch of the primitive oriental mind, with much of its cultivation, and with many of its patriarchal traditions, though corrupted by the deteriorations of human imagination; but the peculiar political state of independence, half savage and half civilized, in which they chose to live, had made them, in

not, nor shall ever be able to do it, justly fear the fire, whose fuel is men and stones." c. 2.—" If men and genii were purposely assembled to produce a book like this Koran, they could not do it." c. 17.

<sup>8</sup> Abul. Pharag. Hist. p. 114.

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Gibbon declared himself tempted to disbelieve it, v. 5. p. 343. I cannot affirm or deny the fact; but I do not believe that any want of improvement has arisen to the world from its destruction, dispersion, or disappearance. We have got almost all that was valuable or interesting of the ancient mind, or productions of the world. Some few historians that have vanished, would have given us a few more facts and many more fables on the earlier ages; but I think we may infer from Herodotus, Pliny, Justin, Diodorus and Strabo, that there was not much to have been learnt from either the Pergamenian or the Alexandrian library, than what we now possess. Instead of preventing human progress, the Arabs immediately advanced it, after the alleged devastation.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.Their ap-  
plication  
to the  
sciences,

thoughts, habits and pursuits, a peculiar people, when Mahomet increased their singularities, by interesting them in his imposture.

The Syrian Christians, whom they allowed to retain their religion, had the merit of leading them to a taste for beneficial knowledge. The value of these Syrian Christians has not been duly appreciated; they not only planted Christianity in India so firmly that we have recently found it there, a thousand years after its introduction, but by their taste and labours much of the Grecian literature and science had been translated into Syriac<sup>10</sup>; a language which has so much affinity to the Arabic, as to be easily acquired by an Arabian student, and to invite him to the effort. Syrian physicians were about the persons of the caliphs, and by their conversation excited an intellectual curiosity in their sovereigns<sup>11</sup>. Al Walid, the caliph who died in 711, was so desirous

<sup>10</sup> The best account we have of the Syrian Christians, and their authors, is in the *Bibliotheca of Assenanni*. It contains curious documents of their activity in diffusing Christianity in India, and even China, in the seventh and eighth centuries. To the first volume a catalogue of the Syrian MSS. placed in the Vatican library, by Clement II. is added. Some Arabian poems are among them.

<sup>11</sup> That the Syrians were the tutors of the Arabs, we may see in the fact, that the following Greek mathematicians were translated first into Syriac, and afterwards into the Arabic:—

Menelaus de figuris sphericis et de quantitate et distinctione corp. mixt :

Theodosius Sphericorum liber :

Autolicus de sphaera mote. De vario siderum in errantium ortu et occasu :

Aristarchus de arithmetica, de magnitudinis et distantiiis solis et lunæ :

Hypsicles de ascensionibus, de ortu et occasu, de corporum celestium magnitudine :

Hipparchus de siderum secretis.—Casiri, Bib. 345.

CHAP.  
IX.INTRO-  
DUCTION  
OF THE  
ARABIAN  
SCIENCES.

to improve his countrymen, that he ordered the Christian writers to publish no more books in Greek, but in Arabic<sup>12</sup>; and this attempt to improve his native language, was advanced by Almanzor, who had imbibed a taste for astronomy, and respected men of knowledge. He began that cultivation of the sciences which has so much adorned the Arab name<sup>13</sup>. His successor, Harun-al-Rashid, the hero of the Arabian tales, increased the progress of literature by the patronage of the throne<sup>14</sup>. But to Almamon, who acquired the caliphate in 813, the Saracen mind was most indebted. He spread knowledge around him with the zeal of an Alfred, almost his contemporary, and with a munificence that surpassed all competition since the days of the Ptolemies.

The Arabians rushed to their conquests with a new religious creed, intolerant of all others, and with an unwearied zeal for its universal propagation. This intolerant bigotry made them equally hostile to the Grecian polemic and the Pagan mythologist, and therefore precluded them from reviving any part of the Grecian or Roman literature that was connected with its theology, or that had enshrined its paganism. Hence, when their caliphs directed their ardent minds to intellectual studies, they passed by the

They neglect the classical authors.

<sup>12</sup> Abul Pharag. p. 129.—He was peculiarly fond of architecture, and built many fine mosques. Abulfeda, p. 123, 124.

<sup>13</sup> Abul Phar. p. 160.—The mathematical works of Menelaus were first translated into Syriac, and afterwards into Arabic. Casiri, Bibl. Hisp. p. 345. So were some medical works. But the Arabs soon began to translate from the Greek themselves, and their principal translations were from the Greek. Casiri, p. 239.

<sup>14</sup> One of the translations of Euclid into Arabic was made in his reign. Casiri, Bib. p. 339.



BOOK  
II.  
LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

poets, the historians, and the orators of the pagan classics, as well as the disputatious Christian fathers. From the intensity of their bigotry, influenced insensibly to themselves by a taste derived from their ancient Sabaism<sup>15</sup>, they fixed their attention on those parts of Grecian knowledge—the mathematical and astronomical works, which had been composed principally at Alexandria during the bright period in the history of Egypt, which arose from the Grecian dynasty of the Ptolemies, and afterwards. Almost obsolete in Greece itself, they had never been appropriated by Rome. To the rest of the world they were as little known as to our ancient satirist, who, in his *Piers Plouhman*, converts Ptolemy and the philosophers into poets<sup>16</sup>. But of all the subjects of Grecian knowledge, these works were the only writings that could interest an Arabian mind, because pure from all idolatrous contamination. Led, like all the East, to admire till they venerated the stars<sup>17</sup>,

<sup>15</sup> Al Bategnus, who made two astronomical tables, and wrote on the *Lib. Quad. of Ptolemy*, and *de astrorum ortu*, and *de conjunctionum tempore*, and died in 929, was even then a professed Sabæan, or star worshipper. *Casiri, Bib. 343.* So Thabet Ben Corah, born 835, one of their great mathematicians and astronomers, was of the Sabæan religion. *Ib. 386.*

<sup>16</sup> *Meny proverbis ich myghte have—*

*And poetes to preoven hit; Porfirie and Plato;*

*Aristotle, Ovidius, and ellevene hundred,*

*Tullius, Ptolemæus; ich can nat telle here names;*

*Preoven pacient poverté pryns of alle virtues.*

*Vis. Piers Plouhman.*

<sup>17</sup> One of our Syrian travellers, Mr. Wood, said, he found himself in the night so struck with the beauty of the firmament, that he could hardly suppress a notion, that these bright objects were animated beings of some high order, and were shedding important influence on this earth. From this effect upon himself, he was



the quick and piercing intellects of the Arabs, fastened on astronomy as their favourite study, and soon revived those geometrical sciences with which it was connected.

Almamon, inspired with this taste, sent to the Grecian emperor for the books of science which the Greeks had written. He collected them also from Persia, Egypt, and Syria; from Chaldea and Armenia. He inquired around him for men able to translate them; he incited his subjects to study; he pursued it himself, and was fond of being present at the discussions of the learned whom he had assembled, and whom he had patronized<sup>18</sup>. Perhaps no country ever witnessed such a sudden acquisition of knowledge as was produced by his exertions. In this he was more fortunate than Alfred. The efforts of our venerable king left but a faint impression upon his nation; while Almamon's example was prolific of imitators; and yet the Saxon mind was as active and as able as the Arabian. The difference may be ascribed to the subjects of their study: Alfred had nothing but the Latin literature to impart; Almamon diffused the true sciences, to whose improvement there was no limit; whose diffusion was connected with the best interests of mankind.

It has been from the cultivation of the sciences that are most intimately connected with natural philosophy, and from those pursuits which began the

sure that at all times the minds of men, in these countries, must have had a tendency to that species of superstition.—Dr. W. Hunter's Lecture, p. 10.

<sup>18</sup> See Abul. Pharag. 160 & 161, where he mentions the astronomers who flourished in the reign of Almamon; and see also Leo Afer de Medicis et Philosoph. Arab. c. 1. printed in Fabric. Bib. Græc. t. 13. p. 261.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

experimental study of it, that the Arabians have so much benefited mankind. The progress of the human mind at that time wanted, as we have remarked, an intellectual nation, which would separate the science of Greece and Rome from their rhetoric and mythological poetry, and dropping the latter, would exclusively cultivate all that was valuable in the former. The Arabs, under their new tenets, were precisely the people to effectuate this, and were the only people that could then have accomplished it. To them we are indebted for the revival of natural, and for the rise of experimental philosophy. It will not be uninteresting to trace, more precisely, the reasons why the Arabs so far surpassed the Grecians in these studies, as they have equally operated since to make England and Europe transcend them in the same paths.

It has been a matter of surprise to the inquisitive, that for nearly 5,000 years before the Arabs distinguished themselves, the ancient world should have so little advanced these branches of our richest knowledge. But this did not so much arise from an indifference to the subject, nor from any insensibility to its importance ; but was principally occasioned by two circumstances, very natural to their chronological position in human existence ; the fewness of their scientific observations, and the erring notions which prevailed on the causing principles of material nature.

As in every art, so in every science, the facts or phenomena of which it consists, and from which it has been built up into a fabric of reasoned knowledge, must gradually, slowly, and successively occur ; and until a sufficient and varied number have occurred, their mutual relations, connections, dependencies,

Causes of  
its slow  
advance  
among the  
ancients.

agencies and consequences, can be neither traced nor explained, nor any rational system be erected to combine and apply them.

On every topic the darkness in every mind is at first absolute and universal; a few enlightened spots begin to appear, which assist others to arise; more luminous points accrue, and from the progressive illumination the horizon of our knowledge enlarges; curiosity then awakens; the eye that was contented to observe is interested to explore, and the judgment proceeds to class and connect the insulated phenomena, which have fixed its attention and excited its activity.

The subject of inquiry then assumes the form of a science; and from the casual events and appearances that satisfied anterior times, the philosopher advances to a vigilant inspection of nature, for the purpose of discovering her secret laws, and of multiplying his experience of their continual operations.

In this sketch we see the regular and historical progress of natural philosophy. We live in the last period, and are therefore studying nature with that intense scrutiny, which the accumulated facts and reasonings of the preceding ages have qualified us to exert. The ancients belonged to the prior epochs of human existence, when the phenomena were but beginning to display themselves, or to interest the human attention. They noted and thought much on what occurred; but their experience was too small to enable them to reason justly, and to discern the relations of nature; and their speculations were too chimerical and uncertain to become popular. Mankind can easier discern absurdity than discover

CHAP.  
IX.

INTRO-  
DUCTION  
OF THE  
ARABIAN  
SCIENCES.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

truth ; and nothing permanently interests which is felt to be delusive.

A succession of time could alone cure this defect. But that the ancient mind began early to reason on nature, appears from the cosmogonies<sup>1</sup> it attempted ; which are the earliest subjects of human inquiry that are noticed in the history of human philosophy. Before Thales, and afterwards<sup>2</sup>, nature was intently studied by many, and theories were repeatedly made to account for her operations. In supposing that natural philosophy was not attended to, we confound too much the success of the inquiry with its pursuit. Compared with our multifarious knowledge, little was correctly understood in the ancient world ; but its curiosity and efforts to know, must not be measured by their failure. Almost every Grecian philosopher studied nature, meditated on her phenomena, and attempted to elucidate her laws. All that Egypt or the East attained, was learnt and remembered ; and it is hardly possible to read the physical works of Aristotle, without perceiving that great labour had been exerted, that much information had been collected, and that as much was really done as diligent observation and careful reasoning could in those days, and with their inferior experience, and under the want of those good systems which the

<sup>1</sup> See Diog. Laert. and Fab. Bib. Græc. v. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The physical works of Aristotle show us how much others before him had studied natural philosophy. He quotes frequently Empedocles. The Etrurians also diligently observed nature. Diod. Sic. l. 5 ; and taught a remarkable cosmogony. It limits the duration of the universe to 12,000 years, of which, the first 6,000 preceded the formation of man, and the latter 6,000 are now concluding. Scud. Voc. Tyr. Plect. Sylla.

multiplied facts of future ages supplied, be expected to effect.

The great impediment and discouragement to this study among the ancients, were their mistakes and intellectual confusion about the causation of things.

It was natural that in studying nature the ancient mind should have been early drawn to the consideration of causation. We cannot avoid thinking of it; we see the effects, but not the power which produces them; because, while material phenomena are objects of our eye-sight, all mental agency is as invisible as the spirit which exerts it: others might behold the hand and figure of an Apelles, but not the genius and taste which guided his pencil, and gave an enchanting existence to the inventions of his unperceivable fancy. All material causation is but the secondary instrumentality. The real working power and producing agency is in every case unseen, designing intelligence; human in all operations of human skill, the divine in every other. Human science operates by the visible instrumentality of mechanism, expressly organized to do what it effects; and in nature, the results we admire, evolve from the magnificent arrangements into which every part of nature has been purposely combined for their production; but all flow from the commanding causation of superior will and wisdom, whether acting by laws and means connected and provided some thousand years ago, or by express operation more recent or immediate. No antecedence or sequency, however uniform or constant, can explain power and causation; because they are but the previous or succeeding visible effects which the unseen agency occasions. The anteceding hand, brush, and colours of Raphael, Titian or Guido, or



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

their sequent movements, are not the causes of the beautiful figures of these applauded painters ; their unseen and unperceivable genius, knowledge, taste and judgment composed the causation that moved their hands, brushes, and colours, to the delicate touches, the exact outline, the fine forms, and masterly distributions of light and shade, which make their sweet creations in one of the noblest of human arts.

But the primeval divine causality being presupposed, it becomes one of the most interesting and ennobling objects of human ingenuity to trace the peculiar material instrumentality, which the Creator has organized and uses to produce the phenomena that are continually occurring.

It was upon this scientific point that the ancients diverged into marvellous absurdity. Not perceiving that the divine, like the human mind, organizes material means and instruments to be the visible producers of natural effects on our globe, the ancients invented a distinct deity for every distinct cause, and made this fancied divinity the direct producer of every class of its effects: a Flora formed the flowers; a Fever goddess occasioned the fever; a Boreas the storm; a real Muse the poem. This absurdity may have been since paralleled by the later one, of expunging the Universal Maker entirely from his creation. But it is the rational object of true science to abandon both these extremes, and to employ itself in tracing the sagacious laws, the profound combinations, the masterly arrangements, the grand, yet simple means, and the wonderful arrangements and combinations by which every part of nature is compelled to produce distinct and peculiar effects, and to continue its sublime course and multifarious operations,

with undeviating certainty, with unwearied constancy, and with the most precisely governed, and most nicely regulated and mutually adapted movements, counteractions and coincidences.

This research into the laws and phenomena of material causation began in the middle ages, though it peculiarly characterizes the present times. It has been already remarked, that Aristotle laboured indefatigably in this path; but the world was then too young, and its theories too obstructing to allow him much success. The Arabians pursued the same road with more advantages and a greater harvest; but it was the alchemists who dug the mines of nature the most deeply, and watched her operations more inquisitively and more discerningly. And amid all their errors, what they really effected, fixed at last the attention of mankind on the phenomena and laws of nature, and awakened a continually increasing desire to explore and explain them; a desire which will never again expire till nature itself dissolves.

But while we censure the ancients for looking only for supernatural agencies in nature, it will be fair towards them to remark, that it was, perhaps, hardly possible for them to have avoided this tendency. The primeval ages of the ancient world were not in that quietude of mind on this subject, into which we, from the later dispensations of the divine economy, have been lapsing. No deluge now destroys a world; no Moses now shakes terrifically a mighty country; no Daniel astounds the founder of a new empire, and his conquering people; every nation is now acting amid the common course of ordinary nature. But when the renewed world began its new generations of existence, the impression of the governing

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

Deity, and of his operations on our earthly habitation, must have been fresh and earnest to a degree which we are but little now disposed to feel, and therefore cannot adequately conceive. It is impossible that the tremendous dispensation of the deluge, and of those fearful manifestations of his command of nature, and of his exertion of that command, which occurred in Egypt—the intellectual mistress of the ancient mind—at the Jewish Exodus, could have occurred, without leaving on the human mind most profound, and awing, and permanent feelings of the divine agency in the human world. The erring mind chose to deviate into absurd theories of its own capricious imaginations on the subject of the Godhead, but could not dispossess itself of the conviction which history and tradition united with its interior sentiment to enforce, that all nature was governed by divine power, and moved obedient to a divine will. The ancient error was, that, instead of conceiving, like Aristotle, the one supreme presiding Deity, reigning over all, like the Persian monarch in his empire, and ruling every department of his vast dominions by appointed laws and ministerial instruments, they broke down the grand divine unity into an immense multiplicity of petty deities, which they placed over every part and function of nature; making gods even to flowers, trees, fruits, insects and diseases, and supposing all the phenomena which occurred to be their immediate operations<sup>3</sup>.

Miscon-  
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of Poly-  
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<sup>3</sup> In Plato's *Cratylus* we find the sun, moon and stars; the earth, æther and air; fire, water, the seasons and the year, spoken of as divinities. Orpheus taught, and Anaximander also, that the stars were gods, and were animated by divinities. 1 *Enf. Hist. Phil.* 147. The Pythagoreans believed the same. *Ib.* 396. Even

The real Creator and Ruler, and his established laws, and their natural relations and effects, were all lost sight of in this misleading system ; and instead of these, nothing was seen in nature but the increasing interference of these imaginary deifications. An Apollo was placed in the sun ; a Diana in the moon ; Neptune in the sea ; and Pluto in the regions below : fire was assumed to be under the government of Vulcan ; the air under Juno ; wisdom under Minerva ; the vine under Bacchus ; fruit and flowers under Pomona, Virtumnus and Flora ; the waves were inhabited by Amphytrite, her naiads and tritons ; the rivers obeyed their respective deities ; the groves and woods were filled with fauns, satyrs and driads ; and every region was admitted to possess its patriotic and local divinity : even the Jews endeavoured to shrink from the tremendous majesty of their actual Creator, and by their Baal, calves, and Moloch, to interpose some minor form of deity between Him and themselves.

Even philosophers, though not always accordant with the vulgar superstitions, yet had fancies of their own on this subject, proportionally extravagant. Pythagoras and others asserted that the air was full of heroes and divinities<sup>4</sup> ; all nature was crowded with

Socrates ascribed the ordinary phenomena of nature to the immediate agency of subordinate deities. *Ib.* 175. That the air was full of those beings whom they called daimons, was the belief of Pythagoras, p. 396 ; of Empedocles, p. 405 ; of Ocellus Lucanus, p. 408 ; and even of Democritus, the founder of the atomical philosophy, who also described them to be in form like men, but of a larger size. p. 432. So Xenocrates exhibited the stars as celestial gods, p. 241 ; and Zeno considered all nature to be peopled with inferior divinities, p. 334.

<sup>4</sup> Diog. Laert. Vit. Pyth. The ancients made three classes of supposed divinities ;—gods, daimons, and a species of demi-gods,



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

them<sup>5</sup>. The Egyptians had a similar belief<sup>6</sup>; and even Thales, one of the first philosophers of Greece, who made nature his study, thought that all things were full of gods, and that the world was pervaded by those divinities they called daimons<sup>7</sup>. Whatever moved was supposed to have within it a divinity or a living spirit, and hence Thales taught that the loadstone and amber had souls, because the first attracts iron and the other straw<sup>8</sup>. And it was believed, that the good daimons could be prevailed upon by religious ceremonies to communicate supernatural properties and powers to herbs, stones, and other natural bodies<sup>9</sup>. So, the planets were believed to be animated by divine spirits, and therefore to move; and were, from this supposition, adored as gods and goddesses.

Every individual was supposed to be accompanied, from his birth, by one of these inferior divinities, to preserve and govern his life, to whom the name of genius was applied<sup>10</sup>; and Socrates frequently men-

whom they called heroes. These are mentioned by Pythagoras, and his commentator Hierocles; by Jamblichus, and by Plato, in his *Cratylus*.

<sup>5</sup> Chrysippus and Cleanthes taught that the heavens, the earth, the air and the sea, were full of divinities. 1 *Enf. p. 334*. Plato thought that several parts of nature, especially the heavenly bodies, were gods, p. 231; and Timæus, the Locrian, maintained that the Supreme Deity had assigned to these daimons the inspection of human affairs, and committed to them the government of the world. p. 231. The Jews also believed in the existence of a race of angelic beings, analogous to the Grecian daimons, to whose agency they were accustomed to ascribe every phenomenon of nature, and every accident of body and mind. Bp. Heber on the Holy Spirit, p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> Jamblichus de Vita Pyth.

<sup>7</sup> Stanley's Hist. Phil. p. 6. 1 *Enf. Hist. Phil. 143*.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> 1 *Enf. 33*.

<sup>10</sup> Thus Menander, the Grecian Terence, said, 'A genius is given



tioned the dæmon that attended upon him and became his protecting counsellor <sup>11</sup>.

CHAP.  
IX.

INTRO-  
DUCTION  
OF THE  
ARABIAN  
SCIENCES.

That all nature subsists by the will, is ruled by the agency, and obeys the orders of its Ever-superintending Author, is one of the grandest and most indelible truths of the human mind, and the surest foundation of human happiness; but to confound the commanded operations of the Deity with his physical instrumentalities, and to make his precept the immediate agent, independently of all the employed properties of bodies, was to turn the mind away from searching into the direct material causes of the natural phenomena which were every day occurring. When Socrates spoke of thunder, wind, and the other moving bodies around us, as the servants of God <sup>12</sup>, he expressed a fact consentaneously with the inspired Hebrew writers, in the sense that they fulfil his behests, and are, whenever he pleases to employ them, his ministerial agents <sup>13</sup>. But to inculcate by the phrase, that they never occur without a specific divine causa-

to every man at his birth, who becomes the mystic leader of his life.'—And Ammianus Marcellinus, quoting this, adds, 'There are certain theologers who maintain that certain divinities are given to every man who comes into the world, for their conservation, but that these appear to very few persons—as to those whom numerous virtues have exalted above others; oracles and excellent authors have taught us this.' Am. Mar. l. 21. c. 13. p. 684. Thus also Socrates says, in the Phædo: 'The daimon of each person that was allotted to him while living, leads them after death to Hades.' 227.

<sup>11</sup> Hence he is represented to have said, 'You many times hear me speaking, because something *Θεῖον καὶ δαίμονιον* has become a voice to me.' Plato, Ap. Soc. i. p. 73.

<sup>12</sup> 1 Enf. 175. Xen. l. 5.

<sup>13</sup> 'Fire and hail, snow and vapours, stormy wind, fulfilling his wo d.' Psalm. 148. v. 8.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

tion, and are not the usual results of the organized construction and appointed powers of nature, was to preclude all inquiry into the qualities of things, and their ordinary actions on each other. Yet the mind of Socrates had this tendency, because he rebuked Anaxagoras for ascribing natural effects to such natural causes as air, æther and water<sup>14</sup>.

It being thus considered as impiety to look for the natural agents, instead of these multitudinous divinities; when Anaxagoras taught that the sun was a burning inanimate substance, many times larger than the Peloponnesus<sup>15</sup>, and that the moon was habitable<sup>16</sup>, as these conceptions undeified them, he was accused of impiety and tried for his life<sup>17</sup>. Archelaus pursuing his train of thought, inculcated that the stars were blazing iron plates<sup>18</sup>; and this supposition making them no longer divinities, caused his opinions to be discreditable, not among the vulgar only, but among almost all the intelligent minds of his day. It was because Socrates saw that the progress

<sup>14</sup> In the *Phædo*, after applauding Anaxagoras for making intellect the cause of things, he says, 'I did not think that he would have introduced any other cause of their subsistence, but from this admirable hope I was forced away, when I saw him make no use of intellect, but assign air, æther and water, and other things equally absurd, as the causes of things.'

<sup>15</sup> Stanley *Hist. Phil.* p. 65.

<sup>16</sup> He thought the moon to be a dark body enlightened by the sun, and had plains, hills and waters. *Plut. Plac. Phil.*; Stanley, 65. He taught the rainbow to be a refraction of the sun's light, *Plut. ib.* and winds to be an extenuation of air by the sun. *D. Laert.*; *Stanl. ib.* Plato calls his idea of the moon deriving its light from the sun, a more ancient opinion revived. *Cratyl.* 71.

<sup>17</sup> For this, although defended by Pericles, he was fined five talents, and banished. *Stanl.* 67.

<sup>18</sup> *Plut. Plac. Stanl.* 68.

of natural philosophy was leading to what he considered to be atheism, and often was actually such, that he turned the inquiring mind from physiological to moral truth<sup>19</sup>.

These were the circumstances which caused the ancients to make such small advances in natural science, and not any indisposition to its study. For Thales is characterized as one of the first Grecians who inquired into the causes of the works of nature<sup>20</sup>; and all the four philosophers who followed him in succession, evidently sought to explore them<sup>21</sup>. But their own erroneous opinions, as well as the prejudices which surrounded them, blindfolded their judgment and restricted its exertions. Hence, although the ancient Tuscans were distinguished for studying nature<sup>22</sup>, they perverted their knowledge into interested superstitions; for their augurs pretended to the power of commanding thunder and of directing the lightning against those whom they pronounced wicked<sup>23</sup>.

The ancients were singularly confused and wild in their notions of deity. It was a favourite idea with most, that gods were an order of beings generated from nature, like men; a superior class to the human genus, but into which the latter might also be transferred.

Plutarch was one of the most enlightened and most reasonable men of antiquity, and yet he maintains the monstrous opinion, that the human soul

<sup>19</sup> Xen. Mem. Cicero Ac. Quest. l. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Cicero de Nat. D. l. 1. D. Laert. Strabo, l. 14. Lactant. l. 1. c. 5.

<sup>21</sup> That they made many theories, though erroneous, on this subject, see Stanley Hist. Phil. p. 61—8.

<sup>22</sup> Diod. Sic. l. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Seneca Nat. Quest. 2. c. 41.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

will become a god. We treat it as the inanity of a savage mind, rather than as its insanity, when we hear the New-Zealand chief say to his European friend, ‘ I, god ; you, god <sup>24</sup> ; and yet Plutarch could say, for himself and the philosophers who concurred in his sentiments, ‘ We are to hold, and steadfastly to believe, that the souls of virtuous men, both according to nature and to the divine justice, are made holy ; and from holy beings advance to demi-gods, and from this semi-deity, after they are perfectly cleansed and purified, and delivered from all passibility and mortality, they become, in real truth, and according to all probability of reason, entire and perfect gods, receiving a most happy and glorious end <sup>25</sup>.’ Pythagoras taught the same ; for the golden verses which comprise his doctrine, end with declaring, that when we quit this body, we ascend into the free æther, and there become an immortal and eternal god <sup>26</sup>. The belief of the Egyptian nations that their living kings and queens were gods and goddesses, and the grave assurance of Virgil and Horace, evidencing to us the popular feeling of the day, that Julius Cæsar had become a divinity, and that Augustus would, on his death, also be a ruling deity, show a distortion of mind on this tremendous subject, which nothing but the Lucretian system, of all things making themselves without any maker, could equal. Both directions of mind were so wrong, that it was impossible for either to contemplate nature with impartiality or judgment, and therefore natural

<sup>24</sup> It was the chief who had visited England, Shunghki, who uttered this strange absurdity.

<sup>25</sup> Montaigne has quoted this passage in his *Essays*, v. 2. c. 12.

<sup>26</sup> *Aur. Carm.* p. 14. Hierocles softens this to mean likeness only, p. 312.

philosophy had no firm basis, no true principles, no intellectual friend, and no popular support.

The progress of Christianity extirpated from the human mind these confusing misconceptions of the divine nature and agency, and by expunging all the systems of pagan mythology, left nature to be contemplated by the curious mind, according to its visible and certain realities. As the christian belief spread, one agency only was supposed to cause all natural phenomena under the government of the universal Creator ; and this agency is the operation of the natural laws or qualities given to all material things.

The Mahometan system, a spurious offspring, the Ishmael of christianity, adopted the same notion ; and the agile Arab mind sprang first to those investigations, which sought in nature alone for the explanation of her effects and changes.

It was the steady warfare which Mohammed and his followers waged against paganism in all its systems, mythologies, allegories, idolatries, mysteries, and later philosophical purifications and refinements, that led the Arabians to this great improvement in human knowledge, under the tuition of their masters, the christian Syrians. In the Macedonian establishments at Alexandria, the foundations of this happy change were first laid in the mathematical studies of the philosophers who were there settled and patronized. One of the most sublime perfections of nature is the geometrical science on which it has been constructed, and which it so magnificently displays. It was not irreverently said by Plato, that the Deity geometrizes in his works : He has done so : He has framed, placed, and moved them on the nicest calculations of mathematical wisdom. Hence, no study

CHAP.  
IX.

INTRO-  
DUCTION  
OF THE  
ARABIAN  
SCIENCES.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.Progress  
of the  
Arabians.

has rewarded the human mind with grander or richer knowlege than the mathematical skill which our revolving earth and its connected solar system display. The mathematical studies are therefore the scientific branch of natural philosophy. Some great men of the Alexandrian school having peculiarly cultivated them, their works were introduced to the Arabs by their Syrian teachers, who immediately appreciated their value, with an extraordinary justness of taste and quickness of discernment; and devoted themselves to these sciences with an avidity and a success, which appropriated the treasures and enlarged the boundaries of all. They translated Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius Pergæus, Eutochius, Diocles, Diophantus, Hippocrates, and Ptolemy<sup>27</sup>. On these they commented and disserted with emulous ingenuity. The establishment of a separate caliphate in

<sup>27</sup> The Arabic Life of EUCLID mentions two Arabian versions of his fifteen books; one, by order of the Calif Harun Al Rashid; and one, more accurate, by the command of Al Mamon. There were nine Arabian commentators upon him. Casiri, Bib. 329. PTOLEMY's *Almagest*, in thirteen books, was translated by a Barmecide, the friend of Harun al Rashid, and many commentaries were made upon him, and some epitomes. Cas. ib. 348. And Omar Abu Haphi, by command of Al Mamon, commented on Ptolemy's *Quadrip*, from the Arabian version of Abi Jahia. Ib. 362. The geometrical works of ARCHIMEDES, were translated and illustrated with notes, and scholia, by many Arabians. Ib. 384. The *Conics* of APOLLONIUS were made Arabian by Al Mamon's patronage. Ahmad Ben Musa corrected the first four books which Helal Ben Helal put into Arabic, as Thabet Ben Corah did the other three. Ib. 384. Casiri also mentions the Arabic versions of Diocles on burning specula; Samius on spiral lines; and Eutochius on Archimedes, p. 382; of Diophantus on algebra, in p. 370; and of Menelaus, Theodosius, Autolycus, Aristarchus and Hipsycles, all Grecian mathematicians, in p. 346. Casiri gives a list of the Arabian mathematicians, p. 402.

and afterwards in Morocco, created new seats of knowledge near the western regions of Europe, where it was zealously cultivated. It is impossible to read the long catalogues of the Arabian treatises on astronomy, optics, geometry, arithmetic, medicine, natural history and chemistry, and even on music, logic, and metaphysics, as well as on poetry and grammar, without astonishment at their unwearied assiduity and successful progress<sup>28</sup>.

CHAP.  
IX.  
INTRO-  
DUCTION  
OF THE  
ARABIAN  
SCIENCES.

While Europe, in the tenth century, was slumbering in that intellectual torpidity which followed the downfall of the Latin rhetorical literature, the Arabs were pursuing with ardour those scientific pursuits which were to give a new spirit of life and knowledge to the western world. Their mental fervour was made to glow peculiarly strong in that part of their dominions, Spain, which was best adapted for the improvement of Europe. In Spain, as in Syria, they permitted Christians to continue among them, on paying tribute<sup>29</sup>, who distinguished themselves by argumentative contests with the Islam faith, which often drew down the reluctant persecution of their conquerors<sup>30</sup>. We find some of these Moçarabes, as they are called, even learning Arabic<sup>31</sup>; and after

Inter-  
course of  
Christians  
with the  
Spanish  
Arabs.

<sup>28</sup> The catalogue which Casiri made of the Arabian MSS. in the library of the Escorial, first gave modern Europe an adequate idea of the extent of the Saracen studies.

<sup>29</sup> Eulogius, archbishop of Toledo, says, "Tributum quod lunariter solvimus." p. 217.

<sup>30</sup> We derive our knowledge of this fact from Eulogius. In his account of the Spanish Christians who were destroyed by the Mussulmen, and whom he calls martyrs, he states, that the Saracens declared that their martyrdom was voluntary; and it is clear, from his narrative, that they provoked the Mussulmen to discussions and resentments.

<sup>31</sup> Thus Eulogius describes Perfectus as learning Arabic, and as

the victorious Abderrahman had established his seat of government at Cordova, Christian students went there to study<sup>32</sup>. The Arabs sometimes married Christian wives; and we have an instance of this sort, in which, the father dying, the mother educated her son in Christianity, and then sent him to the Arab academies to be taught Arabian literature<sup>33</sup>. This was in the middle of the ninth century.

This intermixture of Spanish Christians, studying Arabic and Arabian learning, with the Mussulmen population, established an easy channel for the transfusion of Arabian science into the European mind. By degrees, many persons from other countries were attracted, by the reputation of the Spanish Mohamedans, to visit them in order to acquire their knowledge. One of the first of these intellectual Columbuses who ventured to explore what riches they possessed, and who imparted to Europe the treasures he obtained, was Gerbert, who became the pope Sylvester II. The rumour of the sciences of the Saracens having reached his ear, he went into Spain to cultivate them<sup>34</sup>. Returning to

Sylvester II.

answering in Arabic when he was questioned. p. 231, 232. So he states Isaac of Cordova to have been skilled in Arabic, who perished 851. p. 235.

<sup>32</sup> Eulogius mentions several persons, his contemporaries, going to Cordova to study, of whom some were killed in 851. pp. 236, 237. 244. His treatise is printed in the Mag. Bib. Pat. vol. 9.

<sup>33</sup> This was Aurelius, with whom Eulogius was well acquainted; he perished in 852. pp. 244. 246. 254. He states that the Mussulmen treated the Spanish Christians, when they appeared in public, with derision, and called them fools and madmen; that the boys daily scoffed them, and that some threw stones at them as they passed. p. 218.

<sup>34</sup> In his letters we see his Spanish connexions and Arabian acquisitions. He writes to Lupito of Barcelona for the book on

France, he established schools there, taught what he had exhibited, became preceptor to the princes of France and Germany, distinguished himself for an active and independent mind<sup>35</sup>, and is said to have recalled into his native country, arithmetic, music, and geometry, which had become unknown<sup>36</sup>. Hermannus Contractus, who died 1054,

astrologia, translated by him. 3 Bib. Mag. p. 700. He mentions the book on arithmetic, by Joseph the Spaniard, and the wise, p. 698. He says on another occasion, that he had derived great advantage from the study of philosophy, and was going to the princes of Spain. p. 706. He states that he had begun a sphere, with an horizon and a representation of the heavens. p. 731. In one important letter he seems to me to allude to the Arabian numerical arithmetic: "How should I strive to explain the reasons of the numbers of the abacus—The philosopher must not think that these things *without letters* are contrary to some art or to themselves; for what will he say *esse digitos, articulos, minuta*, who disdains to be auditor majorum—What, when the *same number* is now simple, now composite; now a digit (or unit), and *now is made* an articulus (or ten)?" p. 735. This exactly suits our present numerals, in which 1 is at one time an unit, and at another constitutes a ten, as all the other units, 2, 3, &c. do with the addition of a cypher, 0.

<sup>35</sup> Baronius is compelled to admit Gerbert among the popes, but he does it with visible reluctance. He says that no one had been promoted to the papal seat, who had so proscribed it by his writings. He gives us a specimen of what he calls the horrenda blasphemia of Gerbert. It may surprise the reader to find that this was Gerbert's assertion, that the Pope was the antichrist—the man of sin mentioned in the Thessalonians—a remarkable opinion for the year 990. The harsh censures of Baronius were, in the same century, balanced by the zealous defence of Bzovius, a franciscan, in his Sylvester II. Romæ, 1629.

<sup>36</sup> Malmsbury, l. 2. p. 65. says, "he was the first who seized the abacus from the Saracens, and gave it rules which are scarcely yet understood by the toiling abacists."—His two treatises on Geometry, &c. are published by Pez, in his Thesaur. Anecdot.; and his letter on the Sphere, is in Mabillon Anecdot. His treatise de Abaco, or on Arithmetic, is yet in MS. in Ottobonia



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

Constantine Afer.

was another of these ardent minds : He learnt Arabic, translated into Latin several volumes both of Arabians and Greeks, and wrote on astronomy and the quadrature of the circle <sup>37</sup>.

Constantine Afer had the courage to go farther. With an ardour for knowledge that has no parallel but in Pythagoras, he visited the Saracens in Asia, and passed there thirty-nine years in studying their astronomy, their medical and mathematical knowledge. He came thence to Italy, and entered the monastery at Mount Cassino in 1086, where he translated into Latin several works of the Arabian physicians <sup>38</sup>. The pilgrimages and crusades, so reprobated by those who have contemplated them superficially, brought the European mind to a full acquaintance with the Arabian attainments ; and men arose fast, in every country, emulous to learn, and benevolently assiduous to impart them.

Other  
Christian  
students of  
Arabic.

In the next century we find Hermannus Dalmatus studying astronomy among the Mohamedans on the

*Bibliotheca. Murat. Ant. p. 981.* A collection of his letters is in *Mag. Bib. Pat. vol. 3.*—*Du Chesne, in his Hist. Franc. vol. 2.* has 55 additional letters.—The pretty tale of his magical chamber, *Malmsbury* mentions rather seriously, p. 66.

<sup>37</sup> *Trithemius Catal. Illust. Vir. p. 132* ; and see *Fabricius Med. Lat. p. 708.* In his book on the *Astrolabe*, he confesses, that whatever he had of astronomy, he had wholly borrowed it from the Arabs. *Murat. Ant. Ital. p. 934.* His treatise *de Astrolabio* is in the Bodleian library, Digby, N° 1775. and another, N° 1652.

<sup>38</sup> *Fab. Bib. Græc. t. 13. p. 124.* *Trithemius de Script. p. 257.*—Some MSS. of his works are in the *Harl. Lib.* as his *Loci Comm. Med. N° 1676* ; his *Viat. N° 3407* ; his *Tract. Var. N° 3140* ; also in *Bib. Bodl. Laud, 1507.*—Some years ago (in 1811) in the library of Monte Cassino, was found a Greek MS. of *Apollonius Evander*, the nephew of *Apollonius of Rhodes*, which contains a full account of the eruption of *Vesuvius*, in the reign of *Titus*.



Ebro and at León<sup>39</sup>. Peter, the abbot of Clugny, went into Spain, to study the Arab learning; and he shows his proficiency by his translation of the Arabian Life of Mohamed, and procuring an Englishman to translate the Koran, which he addressed to the celebrated Bernard of Clairvaux<sup>30</sup>. Gerard of Cremona is another name which deserves our gratitude and celebrity, for the many important Arabian works, which, by his Latin versions, he made the property of Europe<sup>31</sup>.

England had its full share in producing these literary enthusiasts, to whom our intellectual eminence is so deeply indebted. The translation of the Koran, noticed above, was the production of ROBERT RETENENSIS, an Englishman, who went to Spain, and was found, by the abbot of Clugny,

English  
students.

<sup>39</sup> The letter of Peter of Clugny to Bernard, mentions this Arabic scholar: "*Hermannus quoque Dalmata acutissimi et literati ingenio scholastico.*"—The treatises on the Doctrine and Education of Mohamed, printed with the Koran, mentioned in the following note, are those which transtulit Hermannus Dalmata—apud Legionentem Hispaniæ civitatem. p. 201.

<sup>30</sup> Machumetis Alcoranum Bibliandri.—This publication contains the letter of Peter to Bernard, in which he says, that while he staid in Spain, he procured the version to be made by a scholar of Toledo: "Because the Latin was less known to him than the Arabic, he had his verba latina, impolite vel confuse plerumque," polished and arranged. Ep.

<sup>31</sup> The translation of Alhazen de Crepusculis, is by him. p. 283.—He died 1187, æt. 73. F. Pipinus says of him, that, led by his love of knowledge, he went to Toledo, and seeing the Arabic books, and the penury of the Latins on such subjects, he learnt the Arabian language. There are seventy-six books of his translation, among which are Avicenna, and Ptolemy's Almagest. There is also his commentary on the Theoricum Planetarum. Murat. Ant. Ital. p. 936.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.Athelard's  
Arabian  
treatise.

on the Ebro, studying astronomy with Hermannus<sup>32</sup>. He became archdeacon of Pampeluna. He translated also an Arabian Chronicle<sup>33</sup>. The abbot of Clugny rewarded him liberally for his labours<sup>34</sup>.

Another Englishman distinguished for his Arabian studies, was Athelard of Bath, whose work still remains in our public libraries, and has been printed<sup>35</sup>. He says, in his philosophical dialogue with his nephew, that he left England for the sake of study, and returned to it in the reign of Henry I. His anxiety to learn the moral and political state of his native country was suppressed by the unfavourable representation which he received of its vices. He told his nephew, that it was wise to forget what they could not remedy<sup>36</sup>; and he is desired to state some results of his new Arabian studies.

<sup>32</sup> Peter of Clugny says of Robert and Herman, "quos in Hispania circa Hiberum, astrologicæ artis studentes, inveni."—He calls him Robertus Retenensis de Anglia qui nunc Papilonensis ecclesiæ archidiaconus est." Ep.

<sup>33</sup> It is in the Bodleian library, Seld. Sup. 31. The translation of Alkindus is by another Robert, an Englishman, who lived in 1272. Cod. MSS. Ashm. 6677.

<sup>34</sup> Eosque ad hæc faciendum multo precio conduxī. Pet. Ep. Robert addresses his translation of the Koran to Peter, and ends his dedication thus, "Illustrissimo que Viro P. C. abbate precipiente, suus Angligena Robertus Retenensis librum istum transtulit A. D. 1143."

<sup>35</sup> Athelard's Dialogue on questiones naturales perdifficiles, is in the Cotton Lib. MS. Galba, E 4. I have two printed copies, which some former owner has marked—sine anno—duæ editiones antiquæ, Collat. et complet.—and says, "supposed by De Bure to be printed at Louvan, by J. de Westphalia, about 1474."

<sup>36</sup> "Unica enim malorum irrefragabilium medicina est obli-vio." Athel. The evils he deplored were violentes principes;

He reminds his nephew, that seven years before he had left him pursuing his Gallic, by which we may presume is meant Norman, studies<sup>37</sup>, while Athelard himself went to explore the Saracen philosophy<sup>38</sup>. A short exordium leads him to confer on many of those points of natural knowledge which he had studied in Spain. We may smile at some of the questions on which he took the trouble of enlightening his nephew, as—why herbs do not grow from water, air, and fire, as well as from earth; why men have not horns like other animals; why we go erect; why we do not walk as soon as we are born; why our fingers are unequal, and our hand hollow; why we are nourished by milk; why the nose is placed over the mouth; whether the stars are animated, and if so, do they eat. But some of his other topics, as—the nature of the senses, the nerves and veins—the cause of earthquakes, of eclipses, and of the tides;—why the sea is salt; why the rivers do not increase it; the origin of the winds, thunder, and lightning; how the earth is sustained in air—whether brutes have souls—why joy should cause weeping; why men of genius should want memory, and those of memory, genius; and why the seat of fancy, reason, and remembrance, should be in the brain; these inquiries were the first beams of awakening curiosity after natural knowledge; and Athelard, with all the deficiencies and absurdities of his little treatise, must be looked on as the father of natural

*vinolentes presules; mercenarios judices; patronos inconstantes; privatos adultores; mendaces promissores; invidiosos amicos; ambitiosos fere omnes. Athel.*

<sup>37</sup> *Meministi, nepos, septennio jam transacto, cum te in gallicis studiis pere puerum juxta laudatissimum, &c. Athel.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ut Arabum studia pro posse meo scruturer. Athel.*

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

philosophy in England. He was the first herald of its approach. His books are the earliest records we have of the discussion of such subjects in this country<sup>39</sup>. Though not abundantly wise in all his opinions and inquiries, yet he discusses his topics with the air of a man who feels that he has burst from the swathing-bands of authority. He talks boldly of the privileges and utility of reason, and contemptuously of those who submit to slumber in a bestial credulity : a language which announces the beneficial effect of the Arabian conquests on the intellect of Europe. But, aware of the personal danger of such freedom, he guards himself, by reminding his nephew, that his opinions must be considered as those of the Arabians, and that he is pleading their cause, and not his own. The absurdity of some of his topics, and the weakness of some of his reasoning, were, perhaps, better adapted to tempt the absolute ignorance of the European mind, in its first rude state, to the cultivation of natural knowlege, than wiser tuition. A Newton would be the worst possible preceptor to a Laplander. There would be no point of contact between them. But a mixture of nurse-tales and philosophy, all believed to be grave and important knowledge, would fasten on the apprehension, and please the taste of an uncultivated mind, far better than pure reason and science, which can only be attained by slow and painful progress. The book of Athelard may have first kindled the curiosity of many subsequent inquirers, and cannot have been contemptible or useless to his contemporaries, since,

<sup>39</sup> As he begins it with saying, “ Cum in Angliam nuper redierim, Henrico Guillermi anglis imperante,” it must have been written before 1135, when Henry I. died.



in the fifteenth century, in the infancy of the typographical art, it was thought worthy to be printed twice, above four hundred years after his death. Athelard's translations of Euclid, and some astronomical works from the Arabic, into Latin, are in the public libraries at Oxford <sup>40</sup>.

The next person, after Athelard, in England, whose name has survived to us for having attended to the subject of natural philosophy, is William de Conchis, about 1140; he wrote his 'Philosophia on natural Questions <sup>41</sup>,' and also a dialogue with Henry II. intitled, 'De Cœlo <sup>42</sup>.' In 1185, we had a student in London capable of translating from the Arabic, the book of Ptolemy on the Astrolabe <sup>43</sup>; and about 1190, Daniel Morley, after studying at Paris, went to Arabian Spain to learn the mathematical sciences, and studied at Toledo. He composed two books on the upper and lower parts of the world <sup>44</sup>, and others

CHAP.  
IX.  
INTRO-  
DUCTION  
OF THE  
ARABIAN  
SCIENCES.

Arabian  
studies  
pursued in  
England.

<sup>40</sup> His other MSS. now remaining are, "de Philosophia Danielis," in Oriel College, Ox. N° 859; his translation of Euclid from the Arabic, in Coll. S. Trin. at Oxford, N° 1967; his Isagoge of Japhar on Astronomy, taken from the Arabic, in the Bodleian library, N° 1669; his translation of Euclid's Elements, in fifteen books, from the Arabic, N° 3359. 3623; the Tables of El Kauresmi, from the Arabic, N° 4137.

<sup>41</sup> This exists still in MS. in the Bodl. Library, Dig. N° 1705; and C. C. C. Ox. 1562, where he is called, 'alias Shelly.'

<sup>42</sup> The MS. of this work was in the Florence library, and is mentioned in its catalogue, v. 2. p. 63.

<sup>43</sup> I learn this fact from the catalogue of the Bodleian Library, which, among the MSS. Digby, has this article, N° 1641. "Ptolemæi liber de compositione Astrolabii, translatus de Arabico in Latinum, Æra 1185, in civit. London." Cat. MSS. Angl. p. 78.

<sup>44</sup> These Works, intitled, 'de inferiori, and de superiori parte mundi,' are in MS. in the library C. C. C. Oxford, N° 1562. He there remarks, "When I lately went from England for the sake of study."



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

on the mathematics<sup>45</sup>. Some time afterwards appeared our Michael Scot, the wizard of our northern ballads, and of the elegant lay of the last Minstrel<sup>46</sup>.

The exertions of these active minded men, and of similar adventurers, quickly introduced Arabian learning into England. We find the Commentary of Averroes on Aristotle actually lectured upon, near Cambridge, about the close of the twelfth century<sup>47</sup>; and about the same period, among the books of Benedict the abbot of Peterborough, we perceive Almanzor, an Arabian book on the virtues of plants<sup>48</sup>. At the close of the next age, we read of an archbishop giving to his church at Peterborough the works of Avicenna<sup>49</sup>.

But it is in the compositions of Friar Bacon, who was born in 1214, and who learnt the Oriental languages, that we discover the most extensive acquaintance with the Arabian authors. He quotes Albumazar, Averroes, Avicenna, Alfarabius, Thabeti ben Corah, Hali, Alhacen, Alkindi, Alfraganus, and Arzachel: and seems to have been as familiar with them as with the Greek and Latin classics, especially with Avicenna, whom he calls the chieftain

<sup>45</sup> 'De Principiis Mathematicis.' Tanner Bib. 532.

<sup>46</sup> He was patronized by the emperor Fred. II. Muratori mentions, that in the Ambrosian library at Milan, was a treatise he wrote at the Emperor's request Ant. It. p. 945.—The treatise of Avicenna, on Aristotle's book on Animals, was translated by him, and thus addressed to the emperor:—"Frederick, Lord, Emperor of the world, receive favourably this book of Michael Scot, that it may be grace to thy head, and a wreath to thy neck." Avic. An. p. 29.

<sup>47</sup> Pet. Bles. contin. Ingulf, 1 Gale Script. p. 114.

<sup>48</sup> Hugo Candidus, ed. Speake, p. 39.

<sup>49</sup> Walt. Whytleseye, ed. Sp. p. 170.

and prince of philosophy<sup>50</sup>. Bishop Greathead, the friend of Bacon, the spirited assertor of the liberties of the English church against the papal encroachments, also quotes Albumazar, Averroes, and Avicenna<sup>51</sup>. Thus the stream of mind from Arabia into England, and of new intellectual excellence thence arising, commencing the true improvement of the country, cannot be doubted<sup>52</sup>.

CHAP.  
IX.

INTRO-  
DUCTION  
OF THE  
ARABIAN  
SCIENCES.

The Arab philosophers were men who combined, with an acuteness and activity of mind that has never been surpassed, all the knowlege which industry could then attain. What they knew, they knew thoroughly; they reasoned with subtlety, but they made their knowlege the foundation of their logic. There is a clearness, a penetration, an information, and a correctness about their reasoning, which spreads a brightness over every subject they handle. To the patient investigation of the Alexandrian mathematicians, they united the active subtlety of the Grecian sophist; but poured at the same time, from their discursive intellects, all the natural information which their chemical and mineralogical researches could then supply. They refused no labour in the acquisition of knowlege or the discovery of truth; and it was this combination of mathematic, logical, and experimental mind, which so rapidly improved

Intellectual  
character of  
the Arabs.

<sup>50</sup> See his *Opus Majus*, edited by Jebb; and his other tracts, in various places.

<sup>51</sup> In his treatise *de Art. Liberal.* and his *Commentary upon Aristotle*, printed in Venice 1514, with Gwalter Burley's *Commentary*, who died 1337.

<sup>52</sup> Many translations were made from Arabic into Latin, by the Jews; who thus benefited the nations that were oppressing them, and became important instruments in diffusing that knowlege which has most advanced European civilization.

themselves, and from them has so highly exalted the intellect of Europe. They were true philosophers. They loved intellectual pursuits, from an intense feeling of their excellence. They believed the perfection of the human nature to rest in these, and they struggled unwearied to attain them. If they have ceased to be the intellectual teachers of the world, it has been, because they suffered their minds to be too much fettered by the Aristotelian predicaments, which often drew them into useless verbal disquisitions, and to look at nature through the spectacles of logic; and because knowlege has so greatly accumulated since their day, as to make them but children in science, to us, their more fortunate disciples. They were superior to the Greeks, by combining their logic and metaphysics with experimental philosophy; and for the nobler religious principles, which some of them infused into their reasonings<sup>53</sup>. The Grecian philosophers knowing few physical facts, their ingenuity wasted itself upon definitions, distinctions and refinements, that were but skirmishes of words. The Arabs, with minds as agile as their Greek masters, happily deviating into a taste for natural knowlege, reasoned more justly, more usefully, and more intelligibly. The universality of their researches and attainments is also wonderful. We have far excelled them in every separate path of

<sup>53</sup> As, Alchindi's 'Quod anima sit substantia simplex et immortalis'—and 'Primi agentis, sive Dei, existentia demonstratur,' Casiri, p. 355; the quod anima sit incorporea, and de extremo judicii die, of Rasis, p. 263; Alkhatheb's book de creatione et resurrectione, p. 182; Avicenna on the soul, called his golden work, in which he maintains that it does not die with the body; and Al Gazel's works, mentioned below.

inquiry ; but no man has appeared since Avicenna<sup>54</sup>, Alchindi<sup>55</sup>, Alpharabius<sup>56</sup>, Al Khatib<sup>57</sup>, Thabet ben Corah<sup>58</sup>, or Avenpace<sup>59</sup>, who has pursued so many

<sup>54</sup> Casiri has inserted the life of Avicenna, from his Arabian Biographer, in his Bibliotheca, p. 268. and the Arabian catalogue of his diversified works, p. 270. The extent of his popular celebrity may be inferred from his magical feats in the Persian and Arabian tales.

<sup>55</sup> The Arabian catalogue of Alchindi's works is indeed multifarious, as the heads under which they are distributed will show :—

16 treatises under Opera Philosophica.

9 - - - - Logica.

11 - - - - Arithmetica.

8 - - - - Sphærica.

6 - - - - Musica.

17 - - - - Astronomica.

21 - - - - Geometrica.

10 - - - - de Orbe celesti.

22 - - - - Medica.

9 - - - - Astrologica.

11 - - - - Problematica.

5 - - - - de Anima.

11 - - - - Politica.

10 - - - - Metereologica.

7 - - - - Optica.

29 - - - - Chemica, Physica, &c.

Casiri, 353—356.

<sup>56</sup> See the long list of the varied works of Alpharabius, in Casiri, p. 190.

<sup>57</sup> Fakhereddin Ebn Alkhathib, called Alcabitius, was so rewarded by the king of Khorasan, that he left to his heirs 80,000 pieces of gold, Casiri, p. 182 ; who adds the Arabian catalogue of his numerous compositions.

<sup>58</sup> Commonly named Thebit. From the profuse list of his works, Casiri, 386—389, he seems to have discussed most subjects of philosophical inquiry.

<sup>59</sup> Abu Jaaffar, in the preface to his interesting Hai Ebn Yokdan, classes the first Arabian scholars in Spain as of the mathematical school. He says, “ after them came a generation of men, who applied themselves more to the art of reasoning, in which they

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.Avicenna  
and Al  
Gazel's  
works.

subjects of investigation, and written on all with so much discernment and ability. They were literally encyclopedistes<sup>60</sup>.

Many of the works of Avicenna<sup>61</sup>, the Commentaries of Averroes on Aristotle<sup>62</sup>, the admirable treatises of Al Gazel, and several other of the Arabian

excelled all their predecessors. After these appeared others, who advanced still farther to the truth, among whom none made nearer approaches than Avenpace." p. 13.—Abu Jaaffar's work is the romance of a man bred up by a goat in a solitary place, and reasoning himself into a knowledge of the Supreme.

<sup>60</sup> Is-aia Ben Fraigen, of Corduba, in 1002 actually became one; for Casiri mentions that he composed an 'Encyclopedia, in which the rules of almost all the sciences are discussed in lines and circles, briefly, but with wonderful art.' Bib. p. 380.

<sup>61</sup> The medical works of Avicenna fill a large folio in Latin. Medicine owes entirely to him its use of tamarinds, rhubarb, sugar, cinnamon, &c. Casiri, p. 272. His Logica, Metaphysica, &c. are printed in a separate volume.

<sup>62</sup> Averroes was born in Corduba. He is considered as the best of all the Arabian commentators on Aristotle. He was the pupil of Ibnu Thofail, who died 1175. Fab. Bib. Græc. 13. p. 280. Several works of AVERROES have been translated into Latin and printed. He is also called Ebn Roschid. His paraphrase on Plato's Republic was put into Latin by a Jew physician, J. Mantinus; so was part of his exposition of all Aristotle's works. In this, he says, he expounded those things at the instigation of some learned companions, 'de secta Murgitana, on whom may God have mercy.' His treatise, 'de simplic. Medic.' was published in 1531, in folio. He finished his 'Theologia Dogmatica,' in 1178. Casiri, 184. Levi Ghersonides made annotations on his commentaries on Aristotle; they are printed in five small quarto volumes, in which are added a few short treatises of some other Arabians; as Abualkasis de notificatione generis et spec.; Al Hagiag Ebn Thalmus, on the proposition de inesse et necessario; Abuhalkasim Mahmath, on the quid and propter quid; and Abuhabad, on the negative de necessario et possibile, and on the middle term. These gentlemen are as obscure as Plotinus or Aristotle, and their utility is to the full as questionable.



compositions, have been printed in Latin translations, and are therefore accessible to all. Of these, I have been most impressed with the genius and reasonings of the latter<sup>63</sup>. Al Gazel's philosophy is of the best sort; it exhibits all the Arabian acuteness, injured only by the categories of the Peripatetic school. It aspires to establish the noble principles of the creating Deity<sup>64</sup>, and the immortality of the human soul.

<sup>63</sup> His *Logica* and *Philosophia* are printed in one volume, Venice 1506. In this work is the following passage: "We say that all utility is vile in comparison of eternal felicity—the felicity of another life. This happiness must depend on the perfection of the soul; which will consist of two things—purity and ornament. To be pure, the soul must be purged from all sordid manners, and be kept from all base phantasies. For its adorning, the certainty of truth should be so depicted on it, as that divine truths may be revealed to it. The mind is a mirror, which cannot be perfect unless the most beautiful forms appear in it."

<sup>64</sup> He concludes a chain of subtle reasoning thus—"It follows, then, that the source of all things is that which is *necesse per se*; which is *ONE* entirely; and whose being is from itself. So that *HE* is the true and pure Being in himself, and the origin of every other. *HE* therefore is perfect—and the most perfect. All things whatsoever have their existence from *HIM*, and the comparison of other beings to *HIS* Being, is as the comparison of the light of other bodies to the glory of the sun: For the sun shines by itself, and not by another illumining it. As that is the fountain of light to all lucidity, so with *HIM*, the first Being, are the keys of all science, and from *HIM* proceed the wisdom and knowledge of every thinking being. *HE* who is blessed for ever, knows all the possible and the contingent. Nothing is so small as to escape *HIS* notice. But for *HIS* comprehension, there is no comparison. Angels are always in the contemplation of *HIS* perfections, and therefore their delight has no end. From their propinquity to the Lord of Ages, their joy transcends our joy. To obey *HIM*, to behold *HIM*, to love *HIM*, constitutes their glory and their felicity—and when we shall be separated from this body by death, our enjoyment will be as perfect. That which is now hidden will then be revealed; our happiness will continue for ever; we shall attain to the sublimest

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

When Proclus reasons, you have an obscure subtlety, a labyrinth of phrase, which at times defies comprehension, and seems worthless when understood. In Al Gazel, you see a philosopher reasoning as subtly, but more closely than the Greek, and always with intelligible thought, and from correct facts. He is ever striving to base his reasoning on experimental truths. His work at the same time exercises and improves the understanding, and kindles an ardent curiosity for natural knowlege<sup>65</sup>. Some of the Arabian students in time abused their own acuteness, by supporting opinions averse from true philosophy, and incompatible with the happiness of society. These mistaken men, perverting the minds and corrupting the principles of many, excited the disapprobation of the better part of their own people, and made science disreputable and suspected<sup>66</sup>. The jealousy of their government, and the bigotry of their priesthood,

truths, and we shall be the companions of the angels in their proximity to the PRIMEVAL TRUE ONE, not in locality merely, but in affection and beneficence.”—This passage is taken from Al Gazel’s chapter “on the Cause of Universal Being, which is Deus altissimus.”

<sup>65</sup> Al Gazel was called by his countrymen the Imam Alalem, or the Imaum of the world—the man who practised what he taught—who of all others feared most to offend his Maker—the Doctor of the spiritual world. Being once asked how he had acquired his extraordinary knowlege, he answered, “By never having been ashamed to inquire when I was ignorant.” D’Herbelot, *voc. Gazali*.

<sup>66</sup> Thus Ehl Eltahkek taught that there was no God but the four elements—no soul and no life after the present. Abu Moslema was one of his followers. So the Zindikites asserted that there was no Providence, and no resurrection, and that all which we see, and all that exists, is the Deity. *Piet. de la Valle. Bayle, 1 p. 38 ; 3. p. 2767.*

were influenced by a perception of the mischief. Persecution followed, and their philosophy ruined itself by its abuse. Turkish barbarism despised it in the East; the brutal savageness of the Moorish temper extinguished it in Africa; and the expulsion of the Mohamedans from Spain, banished it from Europe. The love of knowledge has now wholly deserted the Mussulman mind, and we only know of what the genius of Arabia has been capable, from the dusty treasures of our libraries<sup>67</sup>, which we, forgetful of our great benefactors, and proud of our superior affluence, never pause to examine, and rarely condescend to praise<sup>68</sup>.

CHAP.  
IX.INTRO-  
DUCTION  
OF THE  
ARABIAN  
SCIENCES.

Some of the Arabians and Persians also cultivated, though not with much frequency or enthusiasm, NATURAL HISTORY. Abu Rehan, a Persian, who is stated to have travelled forty years in India, wrote on precious stones. He had been taught by the Bramins, and understood the languages both of Hindostan and

Their  
Natural  
History,

<sup>67</sup> When I observe how rich the Bodleian library is in Arabic MSS. I am surprised that no one out of its numerous students has attempted to give from them an intelligent history of Arabian literature and science.

<sup>68</sup> It may be useful to add the times in which some of the chief Arabian philosophers lived :—

|                   |       |      |       |            |
|-------------------|-------|------|-------|------------|
| Albumazar         | - - - | died | -     | A. C. 894. |
| Alchindi          | - - - | died | - - - | 901.       |
| Thabeti Ben Corah | -     | born | - - - | 835.       |
| Rasis             | - - - | died | - - - | 932.       |
| Albategnius       | - - - | died | - - - | 929.       |
| Alpharabius       | - - - | died | - - - | 961.       |
| Abulhassan        | - - - | died | - - - | 986.       |
| Avicenna          | - - - | born | - - - | 979.       |
|                   | - - - | died | - - - | 1036.      |
| Al Gazel          | - - - | born | - - - | 1072.      |
|                   | - - - | died | - - - | 1126.      |
| Averroes          | - - - | died | - - - | 1217.      |
| Avenpace          | - - - | died | - - - | 1155.      |
| Alcabitus         | - - - | died | - - - | 1228.      |
| Beithar           | - - - | died | - - - | 1248.      |

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

Greece<sup>69</sup>. Others writ on gems and trees ; and several on animals<sup>70</sup> : One on hawks and hunting. They were more elaborate in their treatises on agriculture. Ebu Auan collected from every source the best information on this subject<sup>71</sup>.

Their  
rhetoric.

The Arabs, even before Mahomet, were nationally and habitually orators in their public assemblies, but it was the eloquence of natural talent, mental vivacity, and excited feeling. The chains and rules and education of art they spurned in all things, and their oratory was therefore as unformed and irregular as their government and habits ; but when these became settled in their conquests and colonizations of other countries, they sought the improvements which the laws of taste and the rules of art were found to produce, and were studied to display. The Arabians were then seen to study the Greek orations, and to translate their rhetoric. Poems were composed on this art. Alsokaki translated Quintilian, and Alhariri, Cicero<sup>72</sup>.

The  
Arabian  
fables.

That the Arabians had tales of wonderful heroes, we know from D'Herbelot's short notice of one that has been placed in the eighth century<sup>73</sup>. But the publication of the extravagant history of the Arab negro slave and poet, Antar<sup>74</sup>, has laid before the

<sup>69</sup> He lived in the tenth century.—Casiri Bib. 332.

<sup>70</sup> Ib. 318—20.

<sup>71</sup> Casiri has given a good and full account of the Arabian writers on agriculture, p. 323.

<sup>72</sup> Casiri Bib. 48—51 ; and Pref. p. 9.

<sup>73</sup> D'Herbelot's account is, ' Batthal, in Arabic, means a bold and valiant man, who seeks adventures like the knights errant of the ancient romances.—Dhehebi writes, that in the year 121 of the Hegira, (A. D. 731), a warrior fell, surnamed Al Batthal, of whose warlike deeds many wonders are related. In the book intitled, ' Seirat al Mogiahedin,' or the Lives of the bravest Warriors, there is an abridgment of this hero's life: it is in the French king's library, N<sup>o</sup> 1079.' Herb. Bib. 193.

<sup>74</sup> It was in 1819 that ' Antar, a Bedoucen romance, translated



English world a lengthened display of romantic tales, attached to one extraordinary character ; which being composed in the time of Haroun Al Raschid and his two successors <sup>75</sup>, or in the eighth century and part of the next, precedes all the romances and fictitious histories that now exist from either Bretons or Anglo-Normans in Europe <sup>76</sup>.

As Antár's adventures must have had great celebrity, the Arabians, therefore, may claim to be our precursors in the romance, as well as in alchemy and metaphysics ; for as we cannot doubt that these tales would make their way into Spain before the ninth century opened, or at least before it closed, and as our students in Mahometan Spain could hardly remain ignorant of such popular literature, we cannot deny the possibility, that the Arab romances may have contributed to excite the Anglo-Norman and Breton clergy to the composition of the fictitious heroes and heroic history, which have confessedly proceeded from them. Antár is of importance even on some interesting historical subjects <sup>77</sup>.

from the Arabic by Terrick Hamilton, esquire, oriental secretary to the British embassy at Constantinople,' was published in one volume, which has been since extended into four.

<sup>75</sup> The introduction states that it was first put together 'by Osmay, one of the eminent scholars who adorned the court of Haroun Al Raschid, and of his two learned successors, Al Ameen and Al Mamoun, and continues still to be the principal source whence the story tellers of the coffee-houses in Egypt, Syria and Arabia, draw their most interesting tales.' p. 2.

<sup>76</sup> I observe in D'Herbelot, that our Richard I. was called by the Arabian writers, 'Malek Antikar,' and 'King of the Franks.' p. 114. Antikar may have been their transformation of the word Angleterre—or, was this name applied to him from any supposed resemblance between his actions and character and those of their popular Antár?"

<sup>77</sup> Thus it authenticates the Hebrew account of the Arabs from Ishmael, for it begins, 'Ishmael, son of Abraham, was the father



## BOOK

## II.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

It has been surmised, that the Arabian Nights Entertainment may have proceeded from the old Pehlvi stock, and from that have been translated into Arabic<sup>78</sup>. It is not improbable. The land of the fairies; the region of the genies, and the king of these imaginary domains, Gian Ben Gian<sup>79</sup>, are purely Persian; and so much so, that the first part of Firdousi's epic, *Shah Nameh*, introduces them to our attention<sup>80</sup>. But the conception of the Eastern genii seems referrible to a still older source—to the ancient Chaldeans<sup>81</sup>.

We will now proceed to consider the Scholastic Philosophy, one of our branches from the Aristotelian and Arabian stocks.

of Adnan.' p. 1. and deduces 20,000 horsemen from Adnan, before they migrated from the valley of Mecca; and it makes Adnan one of the two great Arab tribes. p. 58. It states the veneration in which Abraham was held. p. 11—20. making the Caaba his traditional mansion, and describing pilgrimages to his shrine before Mahomed. 11—38. On a disaster 'they threw down their tents and pavilions, and thus they continued seven days and nights;' p. 8.—just as the friends who came to Job 'sat down with him upon the ground seven days and seven nights, and none spake a word unto him, for they saw that his grief was very great.' Job, c. 2. v. 13.

<sup>78</sup> This is the supposition of Mr. Langles, which the editor of *Antar* thinks to be probable, from their 'rich and gorgeous descriptions of the works of art and nature—their enchanted palaces—their genii and magicians—their sultans and viziers, and all the attendant magnificence of a court, and the want of individual character in their leading personages. *Intro.* p. 5.

<sup>80</sup> His account is, that when Ahriman and the demons were driven from heaven, they were banished with the Peries or Fairies, to Gennistan, where they were governed by Gian Ben Gian, the imaginary sovereign of this visionary country.

<sup>81</sup> The 'Iynges' were one of the chief orders of the celestial beings under the Deity, according to the Chaldean philosophers. See Stanley, *Hist. Phil.* p. 1037, and the Chaldaic Oracles, p. 1071. They fancied also material daimons, who could transform themselves into animals, birds and women, p. 1043.

## C H A P. X.

*Introduction of the Aristotelian Philosophy into England.  
Analysis of Porphyry's Isagoge. History and Opinions  
of Aristotle. Analysis of Aristotle's Categories.*

THE study most cultivated in England and in Europe by the more active minds in the twelfth century was that mixture of logic and metaphysics which had characterized the Arabian philosophy, and which abounds in the works of the schoolmen.

The human mind in its various operations—the senses, and their perceptions—the causes and essences, and relations of things—intellect in the abstract; its logical exertions—the divine nature, the future existence of the soul, and the anatomy of the organs of sense<sup>1</sup>—were favourite topics with the

CHAP.  
X.

Subjects  
of the  
Arabian  
philoso-  
phers.

<sup>1</sup> AVICENNA considers the eyes to be what principally display, in us, the dispositions of the soul:—if they be of a middling size, they express what is good and pious; if tremulous, they indicate light-mindedness; if long open, want of modesty, or imbecility; if deep seated, subtlety; if extended forward, folly. Overhanging eyebrows imply an envious mind. He makes these moral differences between animals:—the cow, little anger; the mountain boar, vehement folly and sharp fury; the camel, gentle and clean; the serpent, astute in evil motions; lions, brave and magnanimous; wolves, brave, ingenious, ungrateful and savage; foxes, ingenious in bad actions; dogs, irascible and laborious; apes and elephants, very cunning and familiar; geese, bashful and cautious; peacocks, envious, handsome, and admirers of their own beauty; the camel and the donkey, of good memory; but man alone can forget, and recal what he has forgotten.

He says, that Aristotle first said that the arteries began from the heart; and others, that the veins arose from the liver. In

great Arabian sages. To men of their refined and acute minds, the specious works of Aristotle proved an irresistible temptation to fathom his apparent profundity, and to exercise themselves by his rules; and many Arabians became his translators and commentators<sup>2</sup>; their example diffused a taste for logic and for Aristotle, far beyond what Greece itself, in the highest prevalence of the Peripatetics, had at any time experienced<sup>3</sup>.

Aristotle was first contemplated in the Abstract of Boetius, and in the Introduction of Porphyry. On what is termed, by his Paduan editors, his *golden* work on the soul, Avicenna considers the heart as the first principle of bodily life, and on which it chiefly depends. From the heart the soul vivifies the animal; and from that is diffused through the other parts, and thence actions and movements proceed in the limbs. From the heart the energies of life flowing to the brain, whence the nerves arise, some perform their actions there, some emanate to other parts, as to the pupil of the eye, and muscles of motion. From the heart the nourishing powers issue to the liver, and thence by the veins through all the body, feeding even the heart. Most of the nerves of feeling originate from the first part of the brain, and many of those of movement from its posterior portion, nearer the spine.

He places what he calls the ‘*virtus formalis*,’ and the ‘*communis sensus*,’ in the forepart of the brain. The spirit fills the ventricle there. Cogitation and memory are in the two other ventricles, but the place of memory is behind; so that the spirit of thought is in the middle, that is, between the treasury of the forms and that of the intentions. The space between these is equal.

<sup>2</sup> The Arabian account of Aristotle’s writings, quoted by Casiri, 304—308, states the principal Arab translators and commentators of the various works of Aristotle. Buhle, in his late copious editions of Aristotle, has prefixed a short notice of the Arabian interpreters of Aristotle. Vol. 1. p. 321. Bipont, 1791.

<sup>3</sup> The followers of Aristotle never formed more than a sect in Greece. The Platonists, the Epicureans, and the Academics, were far more popular.

this latter work Averroes commented <sup>4</sup>, and his commentary was the text-book on which the Norman monks lectured at Cambridge, as we have already remarked <sup>6</sup>. Ingulf states himself to have studied Aristotle, and to have excelled in logic <sup>5</sup>. It is probable that he studied Aristotle in Porphyry or Boetius.

As the Aristotelian philosophy was introduced into England, as it was in almost every other country, by the celebrated Isagoge, or Introduction of Porphyry, we shall form a better notion of the men and history of the scholastic ages, if we take a view of its principal contents <sup>7</sup>.

#### ANALYSIS OF PORPHYRY'S ISAGOGE.

PORPHYRY mentions that he wrote this little work because he thought it necessary for the student of Aristotle's *Categories* to know, first, what he meant by his genus, species, proprium, and accidents<sup>7</sup>: the theory of these being useful for definitions, and essential in all that concerned distinctions and demonstrations. He says, 'that abstaining from all deeper questions, he would try by a few remarks as an introduction, to explain succinctly the first elements of the more simple topics.' He therefore declines all discussion, whether genera and species really subsist in nature, or

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<sup>4</sup> Averroes says, that he expounds Porphyry at the request of some friends; but that, in his own opinion, this introduction was not necessary, because the great master's terms were sufficiently intelligible. Levi Ghersonides also made his annotations; which he remarks, that he differs from Aristotle in considering the art not to be science, but an organum to the sciences, by which the intellect may judge between the false and the true. p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See before, p. 442.

<sup>6</sup> Ingulf. Hist. pp. 62. and 73.

<sup>7</sup> I quote Porphyry's work from the edition of it in Buhle's Bipont edition of it, prefixed to the works of Aristotle, v. 1. p. 369—416, and select in the text the most material parts, as literally translating it as is consistent with perspicuity.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

exist only in the naked thoughts of the mind? whether, if subsisting, they are bodily substances or incorporeal? and whether they have any separate being, or are inherent in the objects of physical sense? because he considers these to be very abstruse points, and to require a more elaborate disquisition<sup>8</sup>.

Of genus and species he remarks, that neither of them are singly spoken of; for genus is called a congregation of things which have a relation to some one thing else, and to each other. As the genus of the Heraclidæ is so named from Hercules, and from the many other persons who, by descending from him, have a relation with each other, and have, therefore, this appellation to distinguish them from other genera. Genus may be also named from a place as well as a parent. Thus Pindar is called a Theban, and Plato an Athenian.

It is also used of things to which species are subjected, according to their apparent likenesses; for genus is then the principal or head of all that are arranged under it, and seems to comprise them<sup>9</sup>.

In this triple sense is genus used by Aristotle, who denominates that to be a genus which may be predicated of many things that differ in species—as the genus, animal. Of the things predicated of this, some belong to one individual only; as Socrates, or this person, or that thing. Some of many; as genera, species, differences, and accidents, which are common to several, and not peculiar to any one. Thus animal is the genus; man the species; his rationality, the difference; his risibility, the proprium, or his peculiar property; while white, black, sitting or walking, were the accidents<sup>10</sup>.

But while genus thus differs from those things which are predicated of any one object, by being predicated of many, species, though also predicated of many, is not spoken of those which differ in species, but of those which differ only in number. Thus the species, man, is so spoken of both Socrates and Plato, who as men differ only in number; but the genus, animal, is applied equally to man, ox, and horse, which differ in species as well as in number<sup>11</sup>.

Genus differs from the proprium, or appropriated peculiarity, because this is applied to one species only, of which it is the proprium, and to the individuals under it; as laughter belongs to man, and every man, but to nothing else<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Porph. Isag. c. 1. p. 369.<sup>9</sup> Ibid. c. 2. p. 371, 2.<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p. 372, 3.<sup>11</sup> Ibid. p. 373.<sup>12</sup> Ibid.



Genus also differs from difference, and from the accidents which are common to all; because, although these are predicated of multitudes, which differ in species, yet they are not predicated of them by reason of what they really are, but of the *sort* of things they are; for if we be asked what the thing is of which these are spoken, we answer, genus. We do not say, ‘differences and species;’ because these terms are not attributed to any substance for being what it is, but for its being the kind of thing it happens to be<sup>13</sup>.

Then if we be asked what sort of thing a man is, we say, rational; or what kind of thing a crow is, we reply, black;—rational is the difference in the one case, and black the accident in the other: but if we are questioned what thing or substance a man is, we shall answer, an animal, because that is the genus of man<sup>14</sup>.

SPECIES is that which is arranged under a genus, and of which the genus is predicated in that respect in which it really exists. It is that which is predicated of many things that differ in number, according to its being what it is<sup>15</sup>.

In every category or predicament there are some things that are most general, and some that are most special.

The most general genus is that which has no superior one; and the most special is that to which there is no inferior species. Thus substance itself is the genus most comprehensive. Under this is body.—less general is an animated body, and lesser still, is an animal. Under this will be a rational animal, under this a man, and within man will be Socrates, Plato, and every particular person.

Here substance is the most general, and which can be only a genus; and man is the most special of what can be only a species. Body is a species of substance; as a body animated is of body. But animal is a genus<sup>16</sup>.

Yet animal, though a species of an animated body, is a genus to a rational animal. So that is a species as to animal, but a genus as to man.

But here we pause—man, though a species of a rational animal, is not a genus to every man, but remains a species only. Hence we perceive, that substance must be genus in the superlative degree; because it can have no superior one in which it can be compre-

<sup>13</sup> Porph. Isag. c. 2. p. 374.<sup>15</sup> Ibid. p. 376.<sup>14</sup> Ibid.<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p. 377, 8.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

hended. So man is a term that can have no species inferior to it, but only individuals. Man is, therefore, the most special species<sup>17</sup>.

On the DIFFERENCES, Porphyry remarks, that things differ from each other, either with respect to themselves or to others—as Socrates from Plato; or each differs from himself, as when a boy, or man, or acting, reciting, &c.

But things more strictly differ when they differ in some accident that is inseparable; as in colour, or in having a hooked nose, or a scar. But they differ in the strictest of all senses, when the difference constitutes a species; as a man from a horse<sup>18</sup>.

The PROPRIUM, or that which is the particular property of any thing, and peculiar to that alone, is susceptible of a fourfold division. 1. What may happen to any one, though not to all; as to a man, to cure or to be cured, or to measure geometrically. 2. What may belong to all, and even to other species, and not to one thing only; as to man to be a biped, which birds and apes also are. 3. What occurs both to one and to all, and at some time or other; as to all men to grow hoary from old age. 4. What happens to every one and to all, and at every time; as the aptness to laugh; for, though every man is not always laughing, yet all have at all times an aptitude to laugh. The terms that express the propria may also be reciprocated of each other; for if the thing be a horse, it is his proprium to neigh; if he neighs, you may affirm he is a horse<sup>19</sup>.

The ACCIDENT, Porphyry defines to be, that which is made or unmade without the destruction of its subject; and he divides it into two distinctions—that which is separable—and that which is inseparable. To sleep is a separable accident, because we may also be awake. To be black is inseparable in an Ethiop and in a crow; yet a white crow, and an uncoloured Ethiopian, may be conceived without the destruction of the subject; therefore changes of the accidental do not destroy the substance to which they occur. An accident may, therefore, also be defined to be, that which may and may not be in the same thing. This cannot be affirmed of either genus, species, differences or the proprium, because they are always inhering in some subject<sup>20</sup>.

Porphyry then treats of the communities and the differences of these five great words of Aristotle's system.—The genus, species,

<sup>17</sup> Porph. Isag. c. 2. p. 379.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. c. 4. p. 394, 5.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. c. 3. p. 386.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. c. 5. p. 395, 6.

CHAP.  
X.HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

difference, proprium, and accident. He states the coincidences and distinctions of genus and difference ; of genus and species ; and of genus and the proprium and the accident. He discusses in like manner those between species, the proprium and accident, with difference : and also between species and the proprium and accident, and then between these two<sup>21</sup>. But it will be a sufficient specimen of all, to select some of his remarks on what is common and what is different between genus and difference.

It is common to genus and to difference to contain species under them. Thus rational, though it does not comprehend under it the irrational, as an animal, yet comprises man and Gód, which are its species<sup>22</sup>.

Whatever is predicated of a genus, as genus, may be predicated of its species ; and so what is affirmed of difference may be asserted of the species that arise from it. For, if the genus be animal, we may predicate of it, substance, animation, and sensibility, and likewise of all its species, even to individuals. So, if the difference be rational, the use of reason may be affirmed of all the species thus distinguished.

It is common both to genus and to difference, that if they be taken away, all which are arranged under them must likewise go. Thus, if an object be not an animal, it certainly is neither a horse nor a man. If it be not rational, it cannot be an animal using reason<sup>23</sup>.

The proprium of genus is that which may be predicated of many ; whether as difference, species, proprium, or accident. For that it is an animal may be said equally of a man, horse, bird and serpent ; but the term quadruped can be affirmed only of those things which have four feet. Man is referrible to its individuals only, and neighing only to a horse, though it is applicable to every horse. In like manner accident is predicated of power<sup>24</sup>.

Genus contains difference, as in power ; for one animal is rational and another irrational : but differences do not comprise genera. Genera are also prior to the differences comprehended under them, and, therefore, the latter may be taken away without the other being destroyed ; but if you abstract animal from a thing, you remove both rationality and irrationality ; for if it be not an animal it can have neither of these : but an abstraction of the differences does

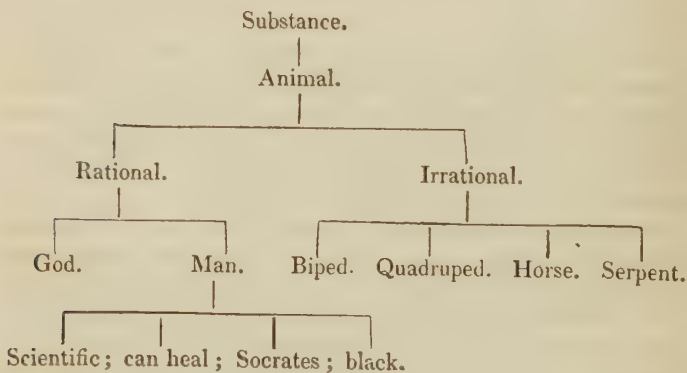
<sup>21</sup> Porph. Isag. c. 6—16. p. 396—415.<sup>22</sup> Ib. c. 7. p. 398.<sup>23</sup> Ibid. p. 399.<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

not thus annihilate the genus, because, if they be all taken away, yet the mind can still contemplate a sensible animated substance<sup>25</sup>.

There is but one genus to a species, as animal to a man; but many differences; for he may be rational, mortal, and capable of intellect and knowledge, and by these may be discriminated from other animals. Genus answers to the matter, and difference to the form, of any subject<sup>26</sup>.

This summary of Porphyry's Isagoge will show the reader into what directions of thought it led the English student, and by what exertions of it his mind was thereby exercised. That it communicated knowledge cannot be contended, still less that it added any; that it even classified what was known under any useful and judicious arrangement of nature, which should be the aim of all generalization, must not be maintained; for the Aristotelian plan, as thus far explained by the Isagoge, would place the things he mentions under this distribution:



In this classification it is preposterous to see where the divine Author of all things would be placed;

<sup>25</sup> Porph. Isag. c. 7. p. 400.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. p. 401.

and what an unmeaning and unprofitable arrangement would be applied to every thing else. It is clearly a system that is useless, as a guide to the knowlege of nature, or as an instrument for making discoveries in it, or for applying its phenomena to reveal or illustrate its laws. It is connected with no grand philosophical principles or theory, and cannot assist the mind to form them, nor to multiply our stock of truths.

It is a system of words and of verbal distinctions, which looks at nature only through the spectacles of a peculiar language, to make what it beholds convertible to the purposes of a vivacious logic.

Nature was not studied, nor valued as nature for her realities, nor to be exhibited in them for any purpose of knowlege or use, but to be subjected to an artificial examination of terms, distinctions and arguments, which would be most available for a perpetual battle of reasoning ingenuity and sturdy debate.

Yet it was such an able mechanism of discussing mind, and its operation was such a powerful stimulus to intellectual activity, that it never could be studied without rousing the human soul to an animation and agility, which nothing that preceded it could produce.

Though it was really conversant with words more than things, yet it certainly produced an attention to their exact differences, and a discrimination of their appropriate meanings, a severe precision in their use, and a vigilant jealousy and exposure of their misapplication, which had the happiest effects, both on the intellect, on learning, and on science. It annihilated the rhetorical mind. Declamation was nonsense to the Aristotelian logician, and was

CHAP.  
X.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

triumphantly cut to pieces by his keen and active weapons of accurate terms, and of strict reasoning upon their exact meaning, and by his resolute activity to demolish what they could not support. This was indeed the great object for which Aristotle seems to have invented it, and it fully answered its great master's expectations. He has done more to abolish rhetorical sophistry and declamatory verbosity in the studious world, than any other individual.

But as the mind and works of Aristotle operated so long, and with such stimulating and influencing efficacy on the English as well as on the European mind, after the Norman conquest, it will be just to him and to our ancestors, to consider him a little more at length, that we may better understand the history of our scholastic philosophy; especially as the oblivion to which we are now consigning both himself and his compositions, may soon leave them little else than a '*clarum et memorabile nomen*,' which satire claims a right to deride.

History  
and opi-  
nions of  
Aristotle.

Son of the physician and friend of the king of Macedon, who preceded Philip—his birth-place Stagira—he went to Athens at the age of seventeen, and attended for three years to the conversations of Socrates. Imbibing a strong affection for Plato, he studied twenty years under this superior man, and became the most intellectual disciple of his school<sup>27</sup>. After Plato's death, he resided a few years with the

<sup>27</sup> Diog. Laert. Vit. 1. Buhle's Arist. p. 3. Ammon. Vita. ib. p. 44. Such was his regard for Plato, that he even dedicated an altar to him with this inscription:—

Aristotle has built this altar to Plato;

A man whom it is sacrilege for the bad to praise.

Amm. p. 46.

CHAP.  
X.HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

tyrannus, or little king of Atarnæ, and then returned to Macedonia. Philip there committed to him the education of his son Alexander, at the age of fifteen. This task completed, he settled himself at Athens, on its earnest invitation<sup>28</sup>, and was for thirteen years the head of the Lyceum, which he established in that celebrated city. Accused there by one of its Hierophants, of impiety, for some difference of opinion on the prevailing superstitions, he exclaimed, as he saw the Athenians favouring the impeachment, and remembered the fate of Socrates, 'I will not suffer you to sin twice against philosophy,' and withdrew to Chalcis<sup>29</sup>. Proceeding to Macedonia, he accompanied Alexander into India, and returned with him to Persia<sup>30</sup>. On his untimely death, he revisited Greece, and is stated to have died from hemlock, at the age of sixty-three<sup>31</sup>, in the same year that Demosthenes perished. Stammering, bald, of low stature, and thin legged, with small eyes, he distinguished his person at one time by a shaven beard, and by a

<sup>28</sup> On the death of Speusippus, the Athenians sent an embassy to invite him to their city, where he, at his Lyceum, and Xenocrates, in the Academy, established their philosophical schools. Amm. p. 47.

<sup>29</sup> Amm. ib. 48. Diog. Laert. ib. 6. He often censured the Athenians. He once said they had found out two things—Wheat and laws—but with this difference; their wheat they made use of, but their laws never. Diog. Laert. 16.

<sup>30</sup> On this journey he composed his political work; having examined the polity of two hundred and fifty-five governments.—Amm. ib. He has been accused of poisoning Alexander. See Buhle 1. p. 99. but the Diary of this King's fatal illness, preserved by Plutarch, is sufficient evidence that he perished in a fever caused by his own intemperance.

<sup>31</sup> Diog. Laert. ib. Phaverinus ascribes his death to this poison, and the epitaph on him implies the same end. See it in Buhle, p. 9. He died twenty-three years after Plato. Amm. ib. p. 50.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

showy dress and rings<sup>32</sup>, but he was extremely moderate in his habits<sup>33</sup>, and mild and polished in his manners<sup>34</sup>.

His ode to virtue displays the true energy of a wise and moral mind<sup>35</sup>, and he gave his thoughts as he

<sup>32</sup> Diog. Laert. 3. Arist. Amm. Buhle, p. 67.

<sup>33</sup> Arist. Vit. ex Vel. Transl. Buhle, p. 57. A Greek anonymous author of his life, after calling him a wretched versifier, brands him as a 'vorax,' and 'inter scorta degens;' but as he adds epithets, the two first of which we can ourselves see from Aristotle's works to be false, he cannot claim our belief of the rest of his calumny. 'Insanus, stultus, rudis, superbus, loquax.' Buhle, p. 67. Timæus also abuses him, but in terms which convict themselves of slander, as they are quoted by Suidas, voc. Arist.

<sup>34</sup> Amm. Vit. ib. 49.

<sup>35</sup> This ode, from its subject, and as a poem of Aristotle's, deserves a literal translation.—How applicable now to Greece!

O much toiling VIRTUE!  
To the human race  
Their finest chase through life;  
For thy beauties, O virgin!  
Even to die  
Is the emulating lot of Greece;  
And to bear hard labours  
Never wearied!  
Thou plantest in the mind  
A never-dying fruit,  
Better than gold or ancestry,  
Or sweetly soothing slumbers.  
For thy sake  
Jove-born Hercules  
And the youths of Leda  
Endured great things,  
Pursuing thy power in their works.  
From desire of thee, Achilles  
And Ajax entered into Hades.  
For thy lovely form  
The offspring of Atarnæ  
Abandoned the sunny day;  
Hence, from illustrious deeds,  
The Muses proclaim him immortal.

advanced in years, a direction, which for many centuries had a greater and more extensive dominion over mankind, than any other production of the human genius has attained.

None of the ancient philosophers composed so much to benefit as well as to exercise the mind of man. His works on poetry, rhetoric, government, ethics, natural history and philosophy, are superior to any that the ancient world produced, on the topics which they discuss. He maintained that vice was sufficient for infelicity, even if the external and bodily comforts were abundantly possessed<sup>36</sup>. He reasoned, that the Deity was incorporeal, and was either intellect itself, or something paramount to intellect<sup>37</sup>; and that his providence extended to heavenly things, and that earthly ones were administered according to a sympathy with these<sup>38</sup>. He maintained that the soul also was incorporeal; having a fitness and power to receive impressions upon it, as melted brass that of a man, or wax that of a Mercury; but having life in itself, and therefore distinct from the physical and organic body<sup>39</sup>. Hence, though a dead man has the same form and figure of body that he had before, yet he is not therefore a man<sup>40</sup>. He said a wise man could not be without passions, but he would take care to let them very moderately affect him<sup>41</sup>. He loved a contemplative life, and preferred it to

The daughters of memory!  
They venerate the guest-loving Jupiter,  
And will reward the constant friend.

Diog. Laert. ib. p. 8.

<sup>36</sup> Diog. Laert. Buhle, 26.

<sup>37</sup> Diog. L. Buhle, 27. Vita Vet. Transl. ib. 59.

<sup>38</sup> Diog. L. 27.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 28.

<sup>40</sup> i Cudw. 358.

<sup>41</sup> Diog. Laert. 26.

## BOOK

## II.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

one either of business or pleasure <sup>42</sup>. He repeated with approbation what he called an old saying, which he said had been handed down from our ancestors to mankind, That all things were framed by God and consist in him, and that no nature can be sufficient for its own safety, which has its preservation intrusted to its own care only, without God <sup>43</sup>; and he taught, that whoever would attain to a blessed and happy life, must partake of the Deity from its very beginning <sup>44</sup>. In all physical things he is described as the greatest cause-seeker of all men, and a most laborious inquirer <sup>45</sup>. He searched into the causes of every thing, and complained of the earlier physiologists, that they considered only the material elements of things, without attending to the two great sources of causation: the principle of motivity, and the intelligence which aimed at ends <sup>46</sup>. He maintained, that there was more of purpose and good in the works of nature than in those of art <sup>47</sup>.

Besides these sound general principles, he is described as having an ardent love of truth, and a proportionable dislike to all imposition on the mind, and to the mercenary and vain glorious sophistry which was pervading the Grecian world. To these feelings we seem to owe his logical and metaphysical treatises.

He considered logic to be the investigation of the probable and the true; he assigned dialectics and rhetoric to the probable, but directed his analytical and philosophical works to the elucidation of the

<sup>42</sup> Diog. Laert. 27.

<sup>44</sup> De Mundo, c. 11.

<sup>46</sup> 1 Cudworth, 357.

<sup>43</sup> De Mundo, c. 11.

<sup>45</sup> Diog. L. p. 27. 29.

<sup>47</sup> De Anim. l. 1. c. 1.



CHAP.  
X.HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

true; meaning to omit nothing that could tend to its discovery, judgment or use. With this object in view, he delivers in his *Topica* and *Methodica* many propositions for the discovery of truth, from which probable arguments on every problem might be deduced. To the judgment on truth his *Analytics* refer; in the prior ones the propositions assumed are judged of; in the posterior, their composition is investigated. To the use of what was true belong his *Agonistica*, his *De Sophisticis Elenchis*, and some others. In these he shows that the sense is the criterion of truth in the things worked out by the fancy; but the mind, in what concerns ethics, a family or a state. With a noble spirit, he makes one end to all studies and pursuits; the use of virtue in a perfect life<sup>48</sup>. Such is the brief summary of the objects of his writings, as transmitted to us by Diogenes Laertius, which were so appreciated by Ammonius, that he asserts that Aristotle, in his philosophy, has even transcended the usual bounds of humanity<sup>49</sup>; an extravagant encomium, as the Stagirite has rather shown us what he wished and aimed to accomplish, than what he has actually effected.

He has been praised for adding a fifth essence or element to the four that were commonly assumed as composing all nature. These, before our modern chemistry multiplied them, were, air, earth, water

<sup>48</sup> Diog. Laert. 24, 25. Diogenes gives a long list of his multifarious works, 19—24.; and Buhle has with great industry collected a most copious *Elenchus* of their remaining MSS. 157—201. and printed editions, 202—274.

<sup>49</sup> Amm. p. 49. Vet. Transl. 59. Perhaps the best Life of Aristotle is that of Buhle's, 'Per annos digesta,' in his first volume, p. 80—104.

## BOOK

## II.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

and fire. Aristotle contended that there was yet another, from which ethereal things were composed, and that its motion was different from the rest <sup>50</sup>. That the soul, the principle of thought and life, is something distinct from the material world, is so just a sentiment, that Aristotle seems to be reasonable in requiring, that more elements should be taken into our consideration, than those which our five senses feel. Moses, from divine authority, has declared the spirit of man to be the breath of God <sup>51</sup>. The most distinguished nations of antiquity had traditions of this sort, which their greatest reasoners favoured; and Solomon has given us a distinction on this subject which there is no benefit in rejecting <sup>52</sup>.

The writings of Aristotle appear to have been beyond the taste, and probably, the comprehension of his contemporaries and country. Theophrastus, his favorite disciple, to whom he left them, may have understood and valued them; but that this elegant and acute Athenian should, in his disposal of them, pass by all his ingenious countrymen, and even all the cultivated states of Greece, and bequeath them to Neleus, an obscure inhabitant of an obscure city of Pergamus, in Asia, whose heirs locked them up in a chest, seems to imply, that they were compositions not suited for his own times and nation, though destined to interest a remote posterity. They remained in this chest till the Pergamenian kings searching every where for books, then only manuscripts, to form a great library in their metropolis,

<sup>50</sup> Diog. L. p. 27.

<sup>51</sup> Gen. c. 2. v. 7.

<sup>52</sup> Eccles. c. 12. v. 7.

CHAP.  
X.HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

the descendants of Neleus, fearing to be deprived of what, though useless to them, they supposed to be valuable, at least as property, hid them from human sight and knowlege in a vault under ground. Here they lay unknown and untouched for 130 years. By that time the possessors of this buried treasure wanting money, and finding that Apellico, a rich citizen of Athens, was giving large prices for rare works to put in his library, they brought Aristotle out of his sepulchre, and sold them to the wealthy book collector. He found them so rotten, from damp and age, that they would scarcely hang together, and were, in many parts illegible; he had them copied, and the chasms made by the moisture and worms supplied, as well as the ability of the day would allow, by conjectural insertions, which have generally made the difficult parts more difficult than before. But here they slept undisturbed upon his shelves, till Sylla, about 85 years before the Christian era, coming to Athens and seizing this library, transported these, with their bibliothecal companions, to Rome; not to study them, but to make them a part of that library which he wished also to be a portion of his popular reputation<sup>53</sup>.

But fortunately for Aristotle and for the world, if he has benefited it, there was a man at Rome, Tyrannion, who having been carried there a prisoner from Pontus, was, under the patronage of Cicero, reading lectures in that city. This expatriated student was intimate with Sylla's librarian, was himself a great book collector, and revered the memory of Aristotle. Seeing the copy of this philosopher's works in Sylla's

<sup>53</sup> Prideaux Connect. 4. p. 528. Strabo, l. 13. p. 609. Plutarch Sylla. Stanley, Hist. Phil. p. 6. Ib. Aristot. c. 16.

BOOK  
II.  
LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

library, he obtained permission from his friend to transcribe it; he communicated his labours to Andronicus Rhodius, who from this MS. first made the works of Aristotle known to the public; nearly 250 years after the hand which composed them had mouldered into dust<sup>54</sup>. From this time they began slowly to creep on the attention of the learned. One Grecian after another, under the emperors, commented upon some of them<sup>55</sup>; a Peripatetic school flourished in great celebrity at Alexandria, and although Caracalla, believing the story, that Aristotle prepared or suggested the poison that was thought by some to have caused Alexander's death, drove the Peripatetics from Alexandria, and ordered their books to be burnt<sup>56</sup>, yet the reputation of Aristotle continued to increase, until his writings interested the Gothic nations, and became the passionate admiration of the Arabian philosophers<sup>57</sup>.

The dominion of Aristotle arose and continued, from the persuasion, that he was the superior intellect among the ancients, and that his works contained a greater quantity of truth and information than those of any other author. This conviction prevailed among the Arabians, and over all Europe, as well as in England. His philosophy was not adopted here or elsewhere because schoolmen taught it, or because the Spanish Arabs pursued it; its predominance was founded on the general belief, and that upon the practical

<sup>54</sup> Prid. p. 529. Strab. 609. Cicero, Ep. l. 2. and l. 4. Suidas, voc. Tyran. Plut. Lucullo.

<sup>55</sup> Buhle has given an elaborate alphabetical list of his Grecian commentators, 1. p. 186—315.

<sup>56</sup> Xiphilin in Carac. 329.

<sup>57</sup> On his Arabian translators and their commentaries, see Buhle, 315—327. A list of the Latin ones follows, 327—348.

experience, of its real superiority. This common feeling, and its basis, were expressed by the student consulted at Pisa by Montaigne, whose general thesis he says, was, ‘ that the touchstone and standard of all solid imaginations and of all truths were, their conformity to the doctrine of Aristotle ; all besides was vain and chimerical, for that he had seen all and said all<sup>58</sup>.’ To us this character sounds extravagant, and we justly deem it to be so, because it is no longer applicable and proper ; but it was neither untrue nor foolish in the middle ages. No other man could then stand in competition with Aristotle, for mind, knowlege, acuteness, judgment and utility. His books actually combined more intellectual excellence and serviceable treasures of all sorts than those of any other which had then survived ; and they created a mental ability and affluence in the world, which without them would not have then existed. He certainly kept natural philosophy united with religion, and with the belief of a soul, or immaterial principle ; and thus, being the antagonist of atheism and of materialism, and being an indefatigable searcher after intellectual causation, he was perfectly unitable with christianity ; but when, as the progress of knowlege, the activity of ingenious curiosity, and its successful researches on all sides brought to the world’s perception and use, larger stores of information, new truths, and a flood of light on every subject, which no preceding age had witnessed ; then, the same correct judgment of mankind which had given to Aristotle his throne, dispossessed him of it. The ancient intellectual Saturn was deposed by his offspring, the new mental Jupiter. Friar Bacon, who

<sup>58</sup> V. 1. c. 25. p. 164.



first saw the beams of the new day, and was the great herald of the new sovereignty, yet did justice to the old monarch who was still governing, and always speaks of Aristotle with grateful veneration; but by the time that his namesake lord Bacon lived, the useful revolution could be deferred no longer; the new power and proficiency of mind which had arisen, the new mines of knowledge which had been opened, the new property which had been drawn out and manufactured into great and beautiful objects and conveniences from them, and the better rules of thinking and philosophizing which all these had suggested, led the first enlarged and congenial mind that could accomplish the adventure, and that deserved the triumph, to assume without usurping the sceptre. Lord Bacon was a commanding and capacious intellect of this description; and what many in his day, and before him, had felt to be necessary, discerned to be practicable, desired to be done, and began to attempt, he advanced forward singly to achieve and complete; he showed the world that the time had arrived for the substitution of a system of study, thought and information, superior to that of Aristotle; he proved its greater excellence to the conviction of the sound reasoner and candid observer; he appealed to their impartial judgment, and he was soon made the Agamemnon of the new philosophy, that after many years hard fought siege, and continual battle, destroyed the prevailing empire of the venerable Peripatetic.

We will subjoin some of Aristotle's opinions on the most important subjects of the human thought.

## ARISTOTLE'S OPINIONS.

TO live well and to act well, are but other expressions for being happy ; but to live well, rests in this—that we live virtuously. This is the object and the happiness, and the optimum of life. Mag. Mor. 1. c. 4.

*On the Deity.*

You would not wish any one to be so fearless as not to fear the Deity ; because such a person would not be a brave man, but a madman. True courage is, therefore, that which neither dreads all things nor yet fears nothing. c. 5.

It remains that we should summarily speak of the preserving and maintaining cause of all things ; for it would be like a crime, that those discoursing of the world should leave out the most lordly part of it.

It is an ancient opinion, and handed down from their fathers to all men, that all things have been established to us from God and through God, and that no nature is of itself self-sufficient for its own preservation, deserted by him. De Mundo, c. 11. p. 573.

Wherefore some of the ancients have proceeded to say, that all these things are full of gods, and seem like images to us by our eyes, and hearing, and every sense.

God is the preserver of all things, and the genitor of whatever is perfected in the world, yet not like a workman, so as to be affected by fatigue or lassitude. 573.

He enjoys the highest and first seat, and from this is named the Supreme ; and, according to the poet, is placed in heaven, on the loftiest summit of the universe.

The body nearest to him peculiarly enjoys the benefit of his power ; then what is next has this advantage, and then successively others, down to ourselves. Hence the earth, and the things on the earth, as they are in subsistence the farthest from the aid of God, are weak and incongruous, and mingled with much perturbation. But inasmuch as the Divine nature is pervading every thing, even those which concern us, so it happens that those which are above us, according as they are near or farther from him, are participating more or less of his assistance. It is better, therefore, to say—and it is more becoming and congruous to the Deity—that the power which has its seat in heaven, both to those

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

which are the farthest off, and to the nearest, or to express it in one word, is to all things, is the cause of its preservation. 576.

After a high wrought simile, taken from the splendor and power of the Persian monarchs, he adds :—

But it is far more reverential and becoming to perceive that He who is seated in the highest habitation, diffuses his power through all the universe, moves both the sun and moon, and actuates all the heaven, and is the cause of well-being and preservation to all that are on the earth. 577.

He needs not artificial mechanism, nor the instrumentality of others. And this seems peculiar to Him, that with ease, and by simple movement, he completes all the various forms of things. 578.

After a simile of the images with moveable limbs :—

So the Divine nature, by a simple primitive movement, gives power into sentient things, and from these to others more distant, till he has permeated all ; one moves another, and this again with the world. 578.

He illustrates the governing of all things by the Deity, by several similes ; one is, what occurs in an army on the point of battle :—

‘ As soon as the trumpet begins to sound, every one that hears it is in motion : this, takes up his shield, that, puts on his breast-plate, another, his greaves or his helmet, or binds on his belt. Some bridle their horses, others ascend the chariots, and the whole force is arrayed in its military order. Then the officers hasten to their squadrons, and the captains to their companies. The cavalry ride to the wing, and the light infantry hurry to their stations ; while all await and obey the orders of their chief commanders, who put every part into motion, as the general of the assembled army directs. So it happens in the universe : the one great Mover animates and directs all through his immediate instruments, and each part performs what it is proper that it should do.’ 582.

This power is, indeed, unseen and invisible ; but this is no impediment to his agency, nor to our belief of it ; for the soul, by which we live, and by which we inhabit cities and houses, is also not to be seen, yet it is visible in its works ; for all the culture of life has been found out and arranged and perceived by it. The cultivation and planting of the earth, the knowlege of the arts, the use of laws, the economy of a state, civil administrations,

external wars and interior peace, are its effects. It is also the soul which pursues our reasonings concerning God; the most mighty of all beings, as to his power; the most excellent, as to his beauty; immortal in his existence, and most exalted in virtue. Hence, though he is not to be seen by any mortal nature, yet he is made visible by his works; and all things that are done in the air, on earth, or in the waters, we pronounce to be the operations of God, the ruler of the world. From Him, as Empedocles the physiologist said, proceed whatsoever will be, whatsoever are, and whatsoever have been. From Him the trees derive their vegetation; from Him, men, women, beasts and birds, and water-nourished fish. 583.

We may, as a petty simile, compare the world to those stones called umbilical, the stones in arches, which, lying in the middle upon the inclining ones on each side, keep the whole scheme of the arch in harmony and in order, and immoveable—this same relation has God in the world, maintaining the harmony and salvation of the whole. 584. But his place is above: the pure exalted among the pure: which place we call heaven, Ouranos, the boundary of what is above; or Olympus, that is, all-radiant, and therefore separated from all darkness and disorderly movement which wind and tempests occasion, as Homer describes it. 585. All human-kind give witness of this, by ascribing to God the regions above, and therefore, all men who pray lift up their hands towards heaven. 585. Hence the race of the pious pre-eminently honor the Divinity. 586.

On the whole, what a pilot is to a ship, what the driver is to a chariot, what the leader is to a dance, what the law is in a city, and a general in an army, God is in the universe. 587.

God is One, though with many names, 589. He is the causer of all things, 590. He holds the beginning and the end, and the middle of all things, and whoever wishes to be blessed and happy, must participate in Him. 592.

In another work he says, 'the energy of God is immortality; that is, eternal life. Motion is therefore eternal in the Deity. De Cælo, 2. c. 3. God and nature make nothing in vain, ib. 1. c. 5.

There is but one only Mover, and several inferior deities.

All that is added about the human shape of these deities is nothing else but fiction, invented on purpose to instruct the common people, and engage them to an observance of good laws.

All must be reduced to *one only* primitive substance, and to

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

several inferior substances, which govern in subordination to the first.

This is the *genuine doctrine* of the ancients, which has happily escaped from the wreck of truth, amidst the rocks of vulgar errors and poetic fables.—Met. l. 14. c. 8. p. 1003.

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‘ The Supreme Mind is by its nature prior to all beings. He has a sovereign dominion over all.’ Anim. 1. c. 7. p. 628.

‘ God is a Supreme Intelligence, which acts with order, proportion and design, and is the source of all that is good, excellent and just.’—Met. l. 14. c. 10. p. 1005.

The first principle is neither the fire, nor the earth, nor the water, nor any thing that is the object of sense: but a spiritual substance is the cause of the universe, and the source of all the order, and all the beauties, as well as of all the motions and all the forms which we so much admire in it.—Met. l. 2. c. 3. p. 844. 5.

‘ The Eternal and Living Being, the most noble of all beings, a substance entirely distinct from matter; without extension, without division, without parts, and without succession; who understands every thing by one single act, and continuing himself immoveable, gives motion to all things, and enjoys in himself a perfect happiness, as knowing and contemplating himself with infinite pleasure.’—Met. l. 14. c. 7. p. 1000.

He says, ‘ That men have generally a *μαντιαν*, a vaticination, (a prophetic feeling) in their minds concerning gods:—to wit, that men are not themselves the highest beings, but that there is a rank of intellectual beings, superior to men, the chief of which is the Supreme Deity, concerning whom there is, indeed, in all, the greatest *μαντια*, or divining sentiment.—De Cœl. l. 2.

So he also says, “ All men have a persuasion or conviction concerning the gods; and all, both Barbarians and Greeks, ascribe a place in the highest to the Divinity, as that which is immortal is suited to an immortal being. If, therefore, there be any thing divine, as, indeed, there is, the body of the heavens must be different from that of the elements.—Cœl. 1. c. 3.

Also, “ It is most agreeable to that *μαντια* concerning the gods, which all men have in their minds, to suppose the heaven to be a quintessence distinct from the elements, and therefore incorruptible.”—L. 2.

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' We account the gods most of all happy. Now what moral actions can we attribute to them? Those of *justice* amongst one another? as if it were not ridiculous to suppose the gods to make contracts and bargains among themselves, and the like. Of *fortitude* and magnanimity? as if they had their fears, dangers, and difficulties to encounter withal. Those of liberality? as if they had such a thing as money too, and there were among them some indigent to receive alms. Or shall we ascribe to them the actions of temperance. But would it not be a reproachful praise to say, that they have no evil desires.

Thus, if we pursue all the practical virtues, we find them to be small, and unworthy of the gods.

Yet we all believe the gods to live and act, and not to sleep, like Endymion.

But if all practice be taken away, and much more, all action, what is left to them except contemplation? *Θεωρία*. 304.

Eth. l. 10. c. 8.

Also, animals, who are deprived of contemplation, partake not of happiness. To the gods, all their life is happy. To men, so far as it approaches contemplation. But brute animals, which do not at all contemplate, partake not at all of happiness.

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" A prince should seem always sedulous about the worship of the gods; for men are less afraid of suffering any injustice from those who are thought to be religiously disposed, and to care for the gods; nor will they conspire against such, as they think the gods will be their allies."

c. 11.

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ARISTOTLE was chiefly studied during the middle ages, in his categories or predicaments. As in these and their commentators most of the English students rested, though the more ambitious penetrated into his other works, and became, by their proficiency in them, the leaders and doctors of the scholastic philosophy, it will be sufficient for our present his-

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

torical objects to give a sketch of this celebrated work<sup>58</sup>.

The object of Porphyry, in his *Isagoge*, was to elucidate what he called the *Predicables*, before the scholar undertook the comprehension of the great master's predicaments. The predicables were the five terms already noticed, *genius*, *species*, *difference*, the *proprium* and *accident*. The categories or predicaments, within which Aristotle endeavoured to embrace and confine all that was known, and had been expressed by language, were ten;—*substance*, *quantity*, *relation*, *quality*, *place*, *time*, *acting*, *suffering*, *situation* and *habit*; under these he thought that all which mankind knew of nature, and to which they had appropriated words, might be classed, and to these he attempted to reduce their multifarious variety.

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#### ANALYSIS OF ARISTOTLE'S CATEGORIES.

HE begins his work very abruptly, and without any enunciation of his subject or his purpose, by telling us that words are of three kinds:—I. The *Homonyma*; of which the name only is common to many; as *animal*, but which differ in their specific meaning; for the word *animal* may signify both a real man and a painted animal. II. The *Synonymous*; of which the name and meaning are common to many; as *animal*, when it signifies a man and an ox as living beings. III. The *Paronyma*; where the different things have their appellation from some accidental thing; as *grammarian*, from one who has learnt grammar; and *brave*, from one who happens to have bravery<sup>59</sup>.

Of things or words mentioned, some are in a state of conjunc-

<sup>58</sup> I quote the edition of Buhle, Bipont. 1791. Vol. 1. p. 445 525.

<sup>59</sup> P. 446.

tion; as, a man runs; and some without it, as when we speak of man alone, or running, by itself. CHAP. X.

Some, also, are spoken of some subject<sup>60</sup>, and some are in none. The term man is mentioned of a subject, as of some man, but is in no subject; and some are in a subject, but are spoken of no subject, as grammar; this is in a subject, for it is in the soul, but it is no subject of itself. So white is in a subject, because it is in a body, but it is not itself a subject, for colour is nowhere by itself, it is always in some body. Some things, however, are both spoken of a subject and are in a subject; as knowledge; it is in a subject, for it is in the soul; and it is spoken of a subject, for it is spoken of grammar. Again, some are neither in a subject nor spoken of any subject; as, a man, or a horse; for neither of these mean, nor is in any particular man or horse<sup>61</sup>. HISTORY OF THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

After a few more subtle distinctions of this sort, thus abruptly introduced, and without any indication of their ulterior applicability, Aristotle comes to his Predicaments.

Of different genera, he says, there are many differences, according to their species: thus, in animal and knowledge, animals differ in being pedestrian and bipeds, in having wings or being aquatic, but knowledge or science has none of these dissimilarities, for one branch of knowledge does not differ from another branch of it, in being a biped<sup>62</sup>.

Of those terms which are expressed without any conjunction, each must mean one of these ten things: it either signifies a substance, or its quantity or quality; or its relation to something else; or its place, in space or time; or its individual position; or what it has; or what it is doing; or what it is suffering. These ten circumstances he names the substance—the quantum, the quale, the relation or *ad quid*, the *ubi*, the *quando*, the *situs*, the *habere* or *habitus*, the *agere* and *pati*, or the *actio* and *passio*. He thus severally illustrates them, beginning with the substance, by which he means a subsisting or existing thing, and not that substantial solidity which we now chiefly use the word to express<sup>63</sup>.

Substance, a man—or a horse.

Quantum, how much?—two cubits—three cubits.

Quale, what sort?—white—a grammarian.

<sup>60</sup> Aristotle defines what he means by being in a subject, thus: that which exists in another, not as a part of it, yet which can never be separated from it. p. 447.

<sup>61</sup> Ib. p. 447.

<sup>62</sup> Ib. p. 448.

<sup>63</sup> Ib. p. 449, 450.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

Relation, to what?—double—half—greater.  
 Ubi, where?—in the forum—the lyceum.  
 Quando, when?—yesterday—the day before.  
 Situs, position—reclined—sitting.  
 Habere, having—has shoes on—is armed.  
 Agere, action—cuts—burns.  
 Pati, suffering—is cut—is burnt.

Each of these categories, of itself, neither affirms nor denies any thing; but from their conjunction with each other, some negation or affirmation arises.

All affirmation or negation seems to be, that what is said is either true or false; but of words used without any conjunction, none can be either true or false; as to pronounce by itself, man, or white; runs, or conquers. Each single term neither asserts nor denies any thing<sup>64</sup>.

SUBSTANCE:—That is most eminently, and primarily, and chiefly denominated substance, which cannot be said of any subject, nor is in any; as, a man, a horse. But the secondary substances are those in whose species these primary substances are, which, indeed, are the genera of these species; as, a certain man, in specie, is included in the general term, man; but the genus of the species is animal. Hence these are called secondary substances; as man, and animal<sup>65</sup>.

Of those things which are spoken of the subject of the things predicated, it is necessary that the name and the definition be predicated of it; as man, of each individual man; and also the name, for you would say that an individual person, as Socrates, was a man; hence the definition of a man would be predicated of him also, for he is both man and animal. Therefore, both the name and the definition of the thing predicated or spoken of, is predicated of its subject; but of the things which are in a subject, for the most part, neither name nor definition is predicated. In some, indeed, the name may, but the definition cannot be. Thus, white, in a subject, as it is in a body, may be predicated of the subject, for a body is white; but the definition of white can never be predicated of body, because body may have any other colour, and white is not exclusively peculiar to it<sup>66</sup>.

All other things are either *spoken of* the subjects, the primary substances, or are in those very subjects; as animal may be predicated of man in general, therefore, of every individual man; but

<sup>64</sup> Buhle Bipont, vol. 1. p. 450.    <sup>65</sup> Ib. p. 451.    <sup>66</sup> Ib. p. 451, 2.

CHAP  
X.HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

if it could not have been affirmed of any one man, neither could it have been spoken of man altogether. So colour is in body, and therefore in some bodies; for if it be in no particular body, it cannot be in body at all. Hence all other things are spoken either of the first subjects that are primary substances, or are in those very subjects; therefore, unless there were primary substances, it is impossible that there could be any others<sup>67</sup>.

Of the secondary substances, substance is rather a species than a genus, for it is nearer to the first substance. If any one would explain the first substance, he would more knowingly and properly answer, if he elucidated it by the species than by the genus: thus, in explaining what a particular man, as Demosthenes, was, he would do it more clearly if he said a man, than if he said an animal; though that would be also true; because to be a man is more peculiarly the property of any particular person, than to be an animal, which many other things, not men, also are. So, if talking of any tree, as, an olive, or a laurel, he would illustrate his meaning more perspicuously if he said it was a tree, than if he called it a vegetable; because roses and lilies are also vegetables. Therefore, the first substances, because they are the subjects to all others, and all other things, are predicated of them, or are in them, are pre-eminently called primary substances<sup>68</sup>.

Of the species themselves which are not genera, no one is more a substance than another; for we shall explain nothing more clearly of any particular person, by saying, he is a man, than of any horse, to declare that it is a horse. So in the primary substances no one is more a substance than another; any man is not more a substance than any ox; therefore, after the primary substances, all the species and genera among every thing else, may be suitably called secondary substances<sup>69</sup>.

As the primary substances are subjects to all others, and all other things are predicated or affirmed of them, or are in them, they are most properly called substances. But as the primary substances are to all others, so are their species and genera to all others; for of them all other things may be predicated. Hence, when you say that a certain man is a grammarian, you declare that he is a grammatical man, and a grammatical animal. So of a cow,—if black, would be both a black cow and a black animal, and also, a black quadruped<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> Arist. Bipont, vol 1. p. 452.<sup>68</sup> Ibid. p. 453.<sup>69</sup> Ibid. p. 454.<sup>70</sup> Ibid. p. 455.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

It is common to every substance not to be *in* a subject ; for the primary substance is neither in a subject, nor is it spoken of a subject ; and it is manifest that none of the secondary substances can be *in* a subject ; for man is affirmed of the subject ; a particular man, as Socrates ; but man is not in that subject ; so animal is mentioned of the same particular man, but animal is not in him. So difference is not in a subject. It may be said of Socrates as a subject, that he was a pedestrian and a biped ; but these are not in a subject, for neither pedestrian nor biped was in Socrates<sup>71</sup>.

There is this circumstance in all substances and differences, that all things are assertible synonymously of them ; for all affirmations concerning them, are either of individuals or of species.

Of a primary substance there can be no predication, for it is spoken of no subject ; but of the secondary substances, the species is affirmable of the individual. Primary substances admit of a definition, both of species and genera ; and the species, a definition of genus ; for whatever is said of the thing predicated of may be said of its subject ; so, both species and individuals admit of a definition of differences ; therefore all things are spoken synonymously of substances and differences<sup>72</sup>.

All substance seems to signify some particular thing. This is true beyond all controversy, of the primary substances. The individual one thing is that which they denote. The secondary substances seem to signify this by a figure of denomination ; as where any one says, man or animal. Yet this is not true ; but rather some such thing is denoted ; but it is not one subject, as a primary substance points to ; for man and animal are terms mentioned of, and referable to, a great multitude of individuals ; nor does it simply mean any such sort of thing as white, for it signifies no other white than such a particular one<sup>73</sup>.

There is also this property in substances, that they have no contraries ; for what can be contrary to a primary substance ? as to a certain man or a certain animal. There is no contrary to a man or an animal ; nor is this peculiar to substances, but belongs also to other predicaments ; as to the quantum. There is no contrary to two cubits, or to three, or to the number ten ; for who would say that much was the contrary of little, or great to small ? no defined quantities have any contraries<sup>74</sup>.

Substance seems also not to admit of more or less : what it is

<sup>71</sup> Arist. Bipont. vol. 1. p. 456.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. p. 458.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. p. 459.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. p. 460.

is the thing mentioned ; but because every substance is what it is, it cannot be either more or less. Suppose the substance was a man, a man cannot be greater or less than himself, or to another. One man is not more a man than another, as one white is whiter than another ; or as one degree of beauty is greater than another ; or as one thing is more hot than others <sup>75</sup>.

But it seems to be expressly proprium, or peculiar to substance, that as one in number it is susceptible of contraries ; but no one can affirm of what are not substances, that what is one in number has contraries ; for colour, which is thus single, cannot be in any thing both white and black ; nor the same action good and bad ; but a single substance, as one man, is sometimes white and sometimes black ; sometimes hot and sometimes cold ; now good, and hereafter bad. So the same speech may not be both true and false. Thus, if we should say, Socrates is sitting ; this is true ; but if he should at that moment rise up, it becomes a falsehood <sup>76</sup>.

QUANTITY is either discrete or continuous, and is one thing, from its parts having a contiguous position as to each other, and another thing, when they are not so. Numbers and speech are discrete, or disconnected quantity ; a line, a superficies, or a body, is a continuous one ; such are place and time ; for in numbers there is no common term for the parts of a number in which they may cohere. Thus, if two fives be the parts of the number ten, the five and five do not cohere by any common term, but are distinct, though they make up the number ten. So in speech, we measure its quantity by long and short syllables, as in an oration ; yet there is no common term by which the syllables cohere together, but every one is distinct <sup>77</sup>.

QUALITY is the relation which any thing has to another ; as greater, double. On this subject Aristotle makes many nice distinctions, and ends his chapter with intimating that it might be true to say, that no substance was among related things ; but as it would be difficult for any who had not often considered the point to lay down any certainty upon it, he proceeds to a further discussion of this predicament, under two distinctions of it, in the Quali and the Qualitate ; calling that the quality, according to which the quales are said to be <sup>78</sup>.

The Quantum receives neither more nor less ; but it is a property of the Qualitas, that it is equal or unequal.

<sup>75</sup> Arist. Bipont. vol. 1. p. 460.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. p. 462.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid. p. 465.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. c. 7. p. 486.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.*Of the πρὸς τι or Relation.*

SUCH things are said to be πρὸς τι ; or, ‘ related to something’; as far as whatever they are, they are said to be of others, or in some manner related to one thing ; what is greater is so to something else ; thus, double to single.

There are these relatives—habit, disposition, knowlege, sense and position ; for all these are spoken of other things : as habit is the habit of some one ; knowlege is the knowlege of some one ; position is also where some real thing is situated.

There is also contrariety in things related ; as virtue is contrary to vice, and knowlege to ignorance, but yet not in all ; for there is nothing contrary to a double or a triple, but they have the more and less, are like and unlike, and differ in degree ; and so equal and unequal<sup>79</sup>.

All relatives are conversive ; as a servant is the servant of some master, and a master the lord of some servant. Relatives also exist together in nature, as double and a half ; and where there is a master there is a servant. They are likewise taken away together ; take away the servant, and there is no master ; and yet this does not occur in all things, for the knowable taken away takes away knowlege ; yet if knowlege be taken away, that will not take away the knowable<sup>80</sup>.

His next chapter is devoted to his other predicaments, action and passion ; the quando, ubi and habere<sup>81</sup>. He considers the opposites and contraries, and the prior and posterior, and after some remarks on these together<sup>82</sup>, he proceeds to the topic of motion, of which he makes six different kinds ; generation, corruption, increase, diminution, alteration, and change of place ; by which it is manifest that he calls mere change, and the actions of things on each other, specific motions. But with this liberty he might have made a thousand different heads of motion instead of the six he has chosen. His chapter on the habere, or the modes of having, elucidates his distinctions of it ; as in disposition, to have science and virtue ; in quantity, to have some magnitude, as of four cubits ; about some body, as a robe ; or in a part, as a ring on a finger ; or in a vessel, as corn and wine ; or in possession, as a field, or house<sup>83</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> Arist. Bipont. vol. 1. p. 474.<sup>80</sup> Ibid. p. 480, 1.<sup>81</sup> Ibid. c. 7. p. 500.<sup>82</sup> Ibid. p. 501—520.<sup>83</sup> Ibid. p. 521, 4.

This analysis of a system, now unanimously permitted by the intellectual world to become obsolete, and only adverted to at present as a matter of passed history will suffice to show what sort of topics amused our ancestors in their Aristotelian studies. From the Categories, they who loved them most deeply, passed to his other arguing works; his Analytics, his Topics, his Elenchi Sophistici, and his Metaphysics; but most were contented with the Categories.

The system and meaning of Aristotle in these Categories are not easy to be traced, from the extreme brevity with which he has expressed them, but they lead our minds to the following observations:

The aim  
and use of  
Aristotle's  
Categories.

He considered nature as it was then known, and language as expressing what was known; he did not contemplate any progress in science, nor anticipate its advancement, and therefore did not mean to frame any system for extending it; he felt himself to be living in an highly cultivated age, which had succeeded to other periods and nations, like the Egyptian and Ethiopian, the Phenician and the Chaldean, which had been all greatly celebrated for their wisdom and learning, and therefore he did not suppose that nature was not sufficiently known, nor foresee the immense additions which the last three centuries have made to it; nor, consequently, did he think of devising any means to promote the discovery of what he did not perceive to be deficient, nor believe to be penetrable by mortal intellect.

Confining his view, or as he intended, extending it to all that was then known of nature and man, he observed that all properties and words had re-



ference to some particular thing, which he called a subject; there was always something to which his predicaments were applicable, or in which they inhered: something was substance; had quantity or quality, or relation; was in some place, time, or position, and was having, doing, or suffering; this something he called a subject; it was a fox, a vulture, a boy, or a horse, or any analogous thing that was spoken of.

This subject was also, in his conception, a substance, not as we now usually mean by the term a solid substantial thing, but rather a subsisting thing. The Aristotelian substance may be considered to mean what the word subsistence may be used to express.

Considering the word used to denote subsistences, or substances in this meaning, he perceived that many related to what our metaphysicians have usually called abstract ideas; they did not signify any particular subject or individual, as the brown horse in the field, or Socrates, or the elm tree in that hedge, but were general terms for all the individuals of these classes; as a horse, a man, a tree; these terms, and the ideas or things which they implied, he called primary substances; his primary substances were therefore our general terms or abstract ideas; as a ship, a palace, a king, and not any particular king, palace, or ship. All other substances, that is, all really and visibly existing things, he named secondary substances; thus, winds or castle, the Thames, Bonaparte, lord Nelson, or the duke of Wellington, would be some of his secondary substances; as a fortress, a river, an emperor, an admiral,



or a general, would be, in his philosophical vocabulary, primary ones. CHAP. X.

He found other terms, also, like his primary substances, having reference to no precise individual object, yet to be applied to, or enumerated of them; as the word animal; he remarked, that many different classes of things were implied by it, as birds, beasts, fishes and insects, as well as men. He therefore distinguished these as comprising a separate body of words, and he named them genera, and the classes they comprehended, either of words or things, he called species; animal was a genus; and man, beast and bird, were species of that genus, for however dissimilar to each other, they all agreed in being animals.

Another class of words and actual properties he found to be arrangeable under the term DIFFERENCES. Each species had some qualities which distinguished them from each other; as, that man is rational; so man and some animals are unlike others, in being biped; as some creatures are in being pedestrian, and others volatile; some are carnivorous, and others feed on grass; all these distinctions he called differences. While again, each class of animals had something peculiarly and solely its own; as man's risibility; and these he called PROPRIUM. All the changeable actions and qualities of things, which might or might not be in them, or done by them, as their motions, positions, colours, &c. he named ACCIDENTS, because they were variable circumstances.

But the ten things discriminated in his ten predicaments seemed to him to comprehend all known nature, and all the terms which language was using

HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

to express whatever we knew in it, and all that was doing in it. Every known thing, and every used term was either a substance, which was his first predicament, or it expressed quantity, quality, relation, place, time, position, action, suffering or having, which were his other nine categories or predicaments.

Thus he considered himself to have classed all nature and all languages under these ten distinctions ; and he proposed to his pupils to study nature and language in this classification.

He cannot be justly accused for not having provided for the enlargement of knowlege, for he does not appear to have anticipated such a thing, and it did not come within his object. His aim was to lead his scholars to acquire and arrange what was known, and not to explore what was knowable. His system did not reach to the unknown, nor direct to it ; it was applied to knowlege as it existed in his day ; and as far as his system is beneficial, it is equally applicable to all the knowlege that exists at any succeeding time, however greatly it may have been multiplied, because the largest amount of it will still be arrangeable under his categorical classifications.

That Aristotle's predicaments have this universal applicability will be manifest to all who study them. Whether it will be now useful to arrange our vast knowlege under his predicaments, and whether far more beneficial classifications have not since been constructed, and may not now be made, are different questions.

Our improvements do not impeach his original ingenuity, nor disprove the great benefits which it has, in former ages, occasioned to mankind.

Like many laws, once very wise and useful, it has now become obsolete, and has been exceedingly abused : and it would be absurd to praise in order to revive it. But let us be just to the departed genius to which we have been indebted, and not ridicule and revile what we should not have been enabled to look down upon, if it had not existed and previously improved us.

CHAP.  
X.  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

## C H A P. XI.

## HISTORY OF THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

*Joannes Erigena's De Divisione Naturæ;—Abelard's Life and Works;—The most famous Doctors of the Schoolmen;—Al Gazel;—Duns Scotus, and Occam on the Universals.*

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.Origin of  
the Scho-  
lastic Phi-  
losophy.

THE eleventh century, as it closed, was distinguished by the rise of those great discussions which became afterwards distinguished by the title of the Scholastic Philosophy. At first, the sincere efforts of awakened mind, springing to exert itself with the hope of achieving great results; eager to free itself from error, and seeking to penetrate the recesses of truth, and to acquire an illumination of knowledge which had not then been attained, they yet failed to realize the brilliant expectations which they conceived and excited, and introduced three ages of verbal warfare and of arguing subtlety, which gave the mind new acuteness and agility, but added no information, and discovered no truth. They have left nothing to mankind but an expanded lesson of the uselessness of all dialectical logomachy.

Its primitive source was, unquestionably, the works of Aristotle that have been already noticed; but the application of this form and exercise of the mind to theology, appears in the works ascribed to Dionysius Areopagita, and in those of Gregorius Theologus, and of Maximus<sup>1</sup>. From these compositions that

<sup>1</sup> Erigena refers to the works ascribed to Dionysius Areopagita, and to Gregorius Theologus, as his sources; and also to Maximus, whose Scholia on Gregory he translated into Latin. See them printed at the end of his own work, Oxon. 1681.

student was principally formed, in the eighth century, who first brought these studies to the notice of England and of Europe.

This individual, the earliest writer that appears to have introduced into the west that subtilizing spirit of logical and metaphysical reasoning on the abstract subjects of human thought, which characterise the schoolmen, was John the Irishman, usually called JOANNES SCOTUS, or ERIGENA, which implies 'born in Erin,' or Ireland. He was the favored literary friend of two of the greatest sovereigns of modern times, Charlemagne and Alfred<sup>2</sup>; and also of Charles the Bald. To 'Carolo Gloriossimo' he addresses his Latin translation of the Greek Scholia of Maximus on Gregory Theologus, a work of very refined metaphysical disquisitions on the Deity<sup>3</sup>. He translated also the Hierarchy of Dionysius<sup>4</sup>. His original work 'on the Vision of God,' has eluded modern research, but his largest composition 'De Divisione Naturæ,' was found, and printed at Oxford by Mr. Gale, in 1681. It procured him great distinction in his day<sup>5</sup>.

In this work he has thrown his ideas into the form

CHAP.  
XI.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

Joannes  
Erigena.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Angl. Sax. v. 3, p. 390, 4th edition.

<sup>3</sup> See his dedication in Gale's edition of his De Div. Nat.

<sup>4</sup> Malmesbury mentions this de Pont. l. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Anastasius said truly in his letter to Charles, that he was astonished how such a Vir barbarus, placed in the very ends of the world, so remote from conversation with mankind, as this Irishman John was, could comprehend such things with his intellect, and transfuse them into another language so ably. He justly ascribes it to his vivacious genius, that quality in which Ireland has never been deficient.—Sed hoc operatus est ille artifex spiritus qui hunc ardentem pariter et loquentem fecit. Anast. ap Testim. prefixed by Gale to his edition of the work.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

of a dialogue; but rather for the purpose of more fully expressing them, than with any attempt at discrimination of character; and as it is the composition of one who was so esteemed and patronized by Charlemagne and our Alfred the Great, and is known to few, and has many curious though too-refining opinions, we will add a synopsis of the work. It will be fairer to see his sentiments in his own statement of them, than to give from others any general character of them<sup>6</sup>.

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*Synopsis of Joannes Erigena's De Divisione Naturæ.*

HE begins by remarking, that he had often thought that the primary division of all things which can be perceived by the mind, or which exceed its understanding, ought to be into those things which are, and into those which are not; and he asks whether the word nature might not be used as a general term that would comprehend all of these—his friend assenting, he proceeds to divide nature from four differences into four species.

The first of these would be into that which creates, and is not created.—II. That which is created, and creates.—III. That which is created, but does not create.—IV. That which is neither creating nor is created.

He speaks with some subtleties as to what is existence and what is not. p. 2. He considers the future felicity of the beatified  
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<sup>6</sup> Mr. Berrington has ably stated one of the main points of Erigena's work. "This general doctrine is deduced, that as all things originally were contained in God, and proceeded from him into the different classes by which they are now distinguished, so shall they finally return to him, and be resolved into the source from which they came: in other words, that, as before the world was created, there was no being but God, and the causes of all things were in him, so, after the end of the world, there will be no being but God, and the causes of all things in him. This final resolution he elsewhere denominates *deification*, or, in the Greek language, which he affected to use, *θεωσις*." Lit. Hist. p. 173.

to be 'no other than the pure and immediate contemplation of the divine essence itself.' p. 3; and much of his first book is on the Theophania or Divine Vision, and on the divine nature. p. 6. and its creative energy, and on its essence, goodness and wisdom. He considers it under the distinctions of the Aristotelian categories, and expands into much metaphysical refinement on logical 'substantia.'

He thus describes, himself, the subjects of his second and third books :—'In the second, we have disputed of nature as created and as creating. We said that this subsisted in the principles of things, that is, in their primordial causes. By the Cause of all things, which is Supreme Goodness, whose property it is, by his ineffable might, to produce all things from non-existing into existence, nature is created. The other things which arise afterwards, he does not cease to create by his participation,' p. 160.

'The third book disputes of nature created but not creating; that is, of the extreme effect of the primordial causes which obtain the lowest portion of all things; for the motions of the progressions of the universe cease in them, not having any thing lower to issue, because it is established in bodies. In this, we have considered many points relating to the primordial causes, and of God, and of his image in the mind, reason and sense, and of what nothing all things are made, and how the only generated word of God both made all things and is in all. We also treated a little on the works of the first intelligible work up to the fifth day.' p. 161.

There is much curious disquisition on all these subjects, and especially on the latter, which is, indeed, a commentary on the first chapter of Genesis. Of this we will select a few things on the production of animals.

'In the preceding construction of nature, during the first four days, there is no mention of the soul, neither simply nor absolutely, nor with the addition of life; we may reasonably inquire, why?

'There are some who say, that the elements of this world, the heaven with its stars, the æther with its planets, the air with its clouds, winds, lightnings and other perturbations; the water and its ever moving waves, and the earth with all its herbs and trees, are not only without a soul, but also without any kind of life; and therefore, that in the operations of the first four days no expression of a soul or life is introduced. But Plato, the chief of philosophers, and those about him, asserted, not only the general life of the

## BOOK

## II.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

world, but that no species adherent to bodies, nor any bodies, were destitute of life. The best expositors of scripture favor this, by affirming that plants, trees, and all which spring from the earth, possess life ; the nature of things does not allow it to be otherwise ; for if there be no matter which makes a body without a species, and if no species subsist without a proper substance, no substance can be without a vital motion, which contains it and causes it to subsist. All that is naturally moved must take the beginning of its motion from some life ; therefore, every created thing has life in itself, or is a partaker of life, and in some manner living, whether the movement of life manifestly appears in it or not. Its sensible species indicates that it is governed by life, but, as St. Austin says, if we inquire who originated body, we are inquiring for him who is the most beautiful and special of all things. Every species is from him ; and who is this but the only God, the sole truth and conservator of all ; the first and highest essence.

He considers every particular life to be part of what he calls general existence—a mundane soul—a community of life with which nature has been endued by its Creator, and which, like a fount of life, distributes it to all visible things under the Divine ordination ; as the sun, perceived by our senses, pours round every where its rays ; but with this difference, that the solar beams cannot penetrate every thing—they cannot pass into the interior of many bodies ; but no creature that is perceptible by our senses, or intelligible by our minds, is without life. Hence, as their composition and formation arise from the administration of their proper life, so, by its laws, their dissolution, infirmity, and return into those things from which they were taken, occur. The same life which vivifies the force of the seeds does not desert them in dissolution, but continues to adhere to them, and even to dissolve them, and then begins again to vivify. Hence that dissolution which is called the death of the body, is a dissolution of its matter to our senses, but not of its nature, which is in itself inseparable, and is always together, and is not segregated by spaces of places and times. Thus man does not cease to be a man—he is body and soul. If he were always man, he would always be body and soul. When his material particles separate on death, yet they are still what they had been, the component parts of his body. The soul deserts it as a whole, but, by a loftier speculation, may be conceived to continue to govern the divided particles ; for being a spirit itself, void of all corporeal grossness, the minute elements into which the

body dissolves become, in fact, more a kin in their tenuity to its ethereal nature. Hence it is not surprizing that the incorporeal soul should, more easily than before, rule the separated atoms of the decomposed body. p. 152, 3.

He discusses afterwards the nature of the animating principle of the irrational animals:—Some say, that it perishes with their material frame; some, that it survives it, p. 154. He makes a distinction between rational and irrational life:—The latter is distributable into that which partakes of sensation, as animals; and not that which wants it, as plants. There can be no sensation but in a body composed of the four elements: there is no light where there is no fire; no hearing where there is no air; and no taste or smell where there is no water. He considers angels to have a rational nature, but not to have these kinds of sensitivity; they do not receive the notice of sensible things by phantasies of bodies, but perceive every corporeal creature spiritually, in their spiritual causes, as we shall hereafter see them when we are transmuted into an equality with their nature. Hence, angels have no corporeal senses, because they are above them; and being by this circumstance void of all irrational or sensitive life, and destitute of our five senses, they are not burthened with compounded or corruptible bodies. p. 155.

But man has both the rational life, like angels, and the irrational life, like animals; both the sensitive and the germinal life. Look diligently at the powers of the human soul, which, while it is of one and the same subsistence and energy and operation in all bodies simultaneously, both generally and specially in each, can also perform all the vital motions and administration in the frame, whether within or without. Indeed, it reasons and understands, like the angelical life, beyond its corporeal senses; yet in these exerts a power of sensation like the irrational animals, though without deserting its rationality; so it nourishes and increases its body, like that life which has no sensitivity, and which pervades plants and woods. Thus, intire in itself, and in every part, it keeps all its senses. So its germinal vitality is visible in its bones, nails and hair, which not being pervious to air, partake no sensibility. In its five-fold instrument of the senses, it communicates with that irrational life which subsists peculiar to animals destitute of reason. But in all these things, though it be often moved by itself irrationally, nature does not suffer it to be deficient in its reason. All which it can do, besides these aforesaid powers of

CHAP.  
XI.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

vivifying and nourishing, and of feeling, by the senses, whether it acts or suffers, it is acknowledged to do and suffer by right reason beyond its body. These things being fore-known, on the divisions and differences of the most general life, let us, he says, return to a solution of our questions, as far as it is given to us to understand them. p. 155.

He dislikes the opinion, that the soul of irrational animals perishes with the body, p. 157. Having made every species of life a part of general life, he infers that no species of it dies with its material body. In every creature there must be substance, power, and operation. If bodies on their death only dissolve into their elements, which are not annihilated, how can their souls, of whatever sort they are, being so much better than the body, entirely perish. It is not reasonable that what is worst should be preserved, and that what is better should perish. Every student of wisdom knows that all body is compounded, and every soul simple and single. But the faculties of animals, in their senses, are in some even superior to men. What man sees so acutely as the eagle, or smells like the dog, or remembers injuries so long as the camel? He says he cannot conceive how these powers should be in the animal, if they be merely composed of earthly particles. He pursues this subject to great length, and reasons on it with much ingenuity.

He begins his fourth book with describing the Deity as a super-essential nature, which is the creating cause of all things, both existing and not existing: created by none; the one beginning, the one origin, and the sole universal fountain of all things; flowing from no one, while all things issue from him: a co-essential Trinity in three subsistences, without beginning; the commencement and the end of every thing; the one goodness and the one God. p. 100.

His fourth book he thus delineates. ‘Beginning from the works of the sixth prophetic contemplation of the condition of the universe, it considers the return of all things into that nature which neither creates nor is created’.

The difficulty of this subject, the occurrence and collision of various senses, throws so much terror upon me, that in comparison with this the three preceding books are like a smooth sea, navigable over placid waves, without any fear of a shipwreck. But this is full of rocks, tortuosities, sands and perils, but with the divine aid I hope we shall reach our port in safety. p. 161.



The human soul is not two souls but one soul. It is one whole. It is a whole in life, in reason, in sense, and memory. As a whole, it vivifies and nourishes the body; as a whole, perceives discriminates, combines and judges. As a whole, it ascends above creatures and itself; and is comprehended in the number of the creatures revolving around its Creator, by an intelligible and eternal movement, while it is purged of all vices. Thus, while it is carried round the Divine Essence, it is mind, feeling, and intellect; while it considers the nature and causes of created things, it is reason; while it receives by its senses the corporeal species of sensible things, it is sensitivity; while it actuates in the body its hidden movements, according to the similitude of irrational animal souls, nourishing and increasing them, it is accustomed to be peculiarly called life. But in all these things it is still one whole: as a whole, it was formed in the genus of animals from the earth, and as a whole it was made in the image of God. Thus the same man is an animal and not an animal—and is spiritual and is not spiritual. But the wise have agreed, that all creatures meet in man; for he understands and reasons like an angel. He feels and governs his body like an animal. All creatures are corporeal, vital, sensitive, rational, or intellectual: but man is all these. As far as he is a body with a life that rules it, senses, and a memory treating of the fancies of sensible things, he has a commonalty of being with animals; but as far as he is a partaker of the divine and celestial essence, he is not an animal; but by reason and intellect, and the memory of eternal things, he participates the celestial essence. In that, he is void of all animality. In this portion of his nature he is, indeed, the image of his Divine Maker. p. 167.

All which is naturally created in man necessarily remains eternally entire and uncorrupt; but as there is naturally in man an hatred of death, so he ought as naturally to hate the cause of death, which is sin. It is common to all animals to dread and to avoid both death and its causes. Rational and intellectual nature, though it cannot fail, may be deceived, especially while it has not yet received the perfection of its formation, which it would have derived from the merit of its obedience, by being transformed into theosis or deification. We should judge of man, not from his present deteriorated nature, but according to that divine image which he possessed before he erred. Now deceived and lapsed, the soul is blinded by the darkness of its depraved will, and consigns both itself and its Creator to oblivion. This is its most

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

miserable death ; the most profound submersion into the clouds of ignorance, and the farthest distance from itself and its Creator. p. 170.

Man is not to be praised so far as he is an animal, but from being an image of his Maker. So he is not to be reviled for being an animal, but because he chooses to deform that sacred image which he cannot destroy.

The movements of irrational animals are not base in them, because they are natural, and without them they could not be animals. But if any man voluntarily will put on his honourable form the effigy of a beast, he is deservedly reprehended, because he precipitates himself from what is better to what is much worse. p. 170. There is in man an implanted faculty of having an angelic and an heavenly body, which, after the resurrection, will appear more clearly both in bad and good ; for it will be common to all human nature to rise again in eternal, incorruptible, and spiritual bodies. Think not of the corporeal mass in man ; consider rather his native powers ; for even in his body, you see that its smallest part is the pupil of his eye, and yet it possesses the largest faculty of his sense. It is in his divine image and similitude that man's true greatness appears ; as that exceeds the excellencies of every essence, so he towers above all in the dignity and grace of creation. p. 172.

He closes his fourth book thus :—‘ We purpose now to treat of the return of all natures into their primordial causes, and into that nature which neither creates nor is created ; this is, the Deity. The divine nature is not supposed to be created, because it is the primitive cause of all things ; before whom there was no principle from which he could be created. But after the return of the established universe, of visible and invisible things into their primordial causes, which are contained in the divine nature, no ulterior nature will be created from it, or will be multiplied into sensible and intelligible species, for they will become one in his nature, as they are now one in causes, and therefore it is supposed that he will create no more ; for what will he create when his nature alone will be all in all ?’ p. 223.

His fifth book begins with a comment on the divine words,—‘ Lest he eat of the tree of life and live for ever.’ ‘ To live for ever is to return no more to the want of temporal things, which will perish with the world, but to pass wholly into the Lord, and to become one in him. p. 225. All human nature will be refunded into

CHAP.  
XI.HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

intellect alone, so that nothing will remain in it but that intellect only by which it may contemplate its Creator. The end of the present life is the beginning of the future, and the death of the flesh is the auspices of the restitution of nature, and its return into its ancient conservation. p. 231.

The first reversion of human nature is its solution into its component elementary particles. The second will be completed in its resurrection, when every one will receive his own body from the community of the four elements. The third, when the body will be cleansed into spirit. The fourth, when the spirit and the whole nature of man will revert into its primordial causes, which are always and incommutably in God. The fifth, when that nature will be moved, with its causes, into God; as air is moved into light. For he will be all in all, when nothing will exist but him alone.

This mutation of human nature into God is not to be considered as a destruction of its subsistence, but a wonderful and ineffable reversion into its pristine state. For, as all which purely understand is made one with that which is understood, what wonder is it if our nature, when in those who are found worthy it will contemplate the Deity face to face, as far as it is given to it, on its ascent into the regions of such a vision, so to contemplate him; it should then become one with him and in him. p. 232.

If we close this synopsis with the following apostrophe of Eri-gena, and his conclusion, we shall have given the reader a sufficient idea of the contents of this work.

After mentioning that the whole text of divine scripture should be consulted, and one part compared with another, because there are some figures and involutions that are intended to excite the exertion of our intellect, he adds, " But the reward of those who shall labour in the sacred scripture, will be a pure and perfect intelligence. O Lord Jesus! I ask no other reward, no other beatitude, no other joy from Thee, but that I may understand purely, without any error of a fallacious theory, Thy words, which have been inspired by Thy Holy Spirit. This is the sum of my happiness, and the end of my perfect contemplation. For the rational and purest soul will find nothing beyond it, because nothing is superior to it; for as we can seek nothing elsewhere more aptly than in Thy words, so we shall find nothing elsewhere so fitting as in them. There Thou dwellest, and Thou introducest thither those who seek and love Thee. There Thou preparest the spiritual food of true knowlege for Thine elect; and there, passing through them

## BOOK

## II.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

Thou ministerest unto them. And what is, O Lord ! this thy passing through, but the ascent through the infinite degrees of the contemplation of Thee. Thou passest onwards into the intellects of those who seek and find Thee. Thou wilt be found in thy theophanies, thy divine appearances, in which, as in some mirrors, Thou wilt meet the minds of those who understand Thee. Thou wilt not be found always in thine essentiality, because that surpasses and exceeds every intellect willing and ascending to comprehend Thee. Therefore Thou ministerest to them thy presence by an ineffable communication of thine appearance, as Thou passest over them, by the incomprehensible loftiness and intinuity of thine essence." p. 306.

He thus terminates his work with a kind of summary of its contents.

Thus we have distinguished the quadriform division of universal nature, which is understood in God and in creation. The first and the last form was on the Deity alone ; not that his nature, which is pre-eminently single and uncompounded, is divisible, but because it is susceptible of a double mode of contemplation. While I contemplate Him as the beginning and cause of all things, the true reason occurs to me, which confidently suggests that the divine essence or subsistence, goodness, power, wisdom, and its other attributes, are created by no one, for there is no superior to the divine nature. All things which are, or which now are not, were created from it, and by it, and in it, and to it. While I view him as the end and untransgressible term of all things ; whom all desire, and in whom they place the limit of their natural movement, I find him to be neither created nor creating. That nature which is from itself, cannot be created, nor does it create ; for as all things which shall proceed from it by an intelligible or sensible generation will, by an ineffable and wonderful regeneration, return to it, and all things will be at rest within it, what shall he create when He himself will be all in all, and will appear in nothing but in Himself ? All things are so ordered by Divine Providence, that no evil is found substantially in the nature of things, nor any thing which will disturb the great republic and civil disposition of all.

Having thus considered the fourfold view of universal nature—two in the divine nature, as to their origin and end ; and two in framed nature, as to their causes and effects ; we added some theories on the return of effects into their causes, or the relations in which they subsist. There were three modes of this :—The first was



generally in the transmutation of all the sensible creation. There is no body but what will return into its occult causes. The second mode will obtain in the general return of all human nature, saved in Christ, into its primitive condition—into a paradise—into the dignity of the Divine Image.

The third mode will be experienced by those who will not only ascend into the sublimity of nature, substituted in them, but by the abundance of the Divine grace, which shall be delivered by Christ, and in Him to his elect, will, above all the laws and terms of nature, superessentially pass into God himself, and be one in him and with him. There are three degrees of this ascent :—The first is, the transition of the mind into the knowlege of all things which are after God. The second, of that knowlege into wisdom, or the intimate contemplation of truth, as far as it will be permitted to a creature. The third and last is the supernatural setting of the most purified souls in God himself—the most secret mysteries will then be opened to the blessed and the illuminated intellects in an ineffable manner. pp. 311, 312.

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It has been remarked, that no heresies appeared in the tenth century. It is an observation ominous of evil to mankind. It announces a deathlike torpor of mind, fatal to human progress<sup>7</sup>, for, while many minds think, some will diverge into eccentricities which will benefit the rest of the world, if right, or be ridiculed and exploded, if wrong. In no age was knowlege, religion, or morals, at a lower ebb, than in the tenth. In no age can the mind be impartially exercised without some diversity from existing opinions ; but discerning men will always

<sup>7</sup> Dupin must have felt this; for in accounting for there being no heresy, after remarking that the sober people contented themselves with implicit faith, he adds—" and the profligate abandoned themselves to gross sensualities, satisfying their brutal appetites, rather than to the vices of the mind, to which only ingenious persons are liable." Eccl. Hist. Cent. 10. c. 6.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

look upon those eccentricities as transitory projectiles, that, if not kept up by the force of controversy, always tend to fall out of sight and notice. The surest way to defeat these ill effects is, to leave them unnoticed; and for wiser men to publish better systems, and by the presentation of more useful truths, to divest error silently of its casual popularity.

But Joannes Erigena rather left an example than made an impression. He was wondered at—read by a few—but imitated by none. His work was a little island, dimly floating in a darkened hemisphere, and was generally neglected. It was the Arabian mind that caught the same spirit from its Aristotelian studies, and gradually infused it into those nations which had checked or defied the progress of their arms; but whose inquisitive scholars became eager to transplant into their own countries the attractive dialectics of the Mohammedan philosophers.

The studies  
imported  
from Spain.

From the time that the sciences were cultivated by the Arabs in Spain, some of their illuminating rays began to penetrate the darkness of Europe. It has been already shown<sup>8</sup>, that the Spanish Christians, in the ninth century, studied at the Arab seminaries; and that in the next, French ecclesiastics went thither in search of knowledge, as Gerbert, who became Pope in 1000. In the works of the disciples of his scholar Fulbert, we may trace marks of this intercourse, in some of the illustrations of their reasoning<sup>9</sup>; and it is probable, that the conversation

<sup>8</sup> See before, p. 433.

<sup>9</sup> As Adalman, in his Treatise against Berengarius, a model of benign and truly Christian controversy. Bib. Mag. vol. 3. p. 167—171. It begins very kindly:—"I have called you my collecta.

and attainments of the minds acquainted with Arab studies, excited in many others unusual curiosity and the spirit of disquisition. We have mentioned before, that Lanfranc began the study of dialectics at Bec; the taste accompanied him to England; and Anselm, his pupil, and successor in his archiepiscopal see, by his metaphysical investigations extended it to new subjects, and increased its popularity.

But the person who seems to be best entitled to the name of the immediate father of the scholastic philosophy, was Roscelin of Bretagne.—A prelate, almost his contemporary, says, “Bretagne is full of clerks, who have acute minds, and apply them to the arts; but as to other concerns, it is fertile only of blockheads.” One of these clerks was Roscelin, who, the same author says, “first in our times established the *sententiam vocum*”<sup>10</sup>. He was the earliest preceptor of Abelard, also a Breton. Abelard was born at his father’s castle, about eight miles from Nantz. His parent, though a knight, had imbibed so great a love for letters, that he determined to have his son well instructed in them *before* he learnt the use of arms, although his eldest child. Abelard, from the instructions of Roscelin, and from his improvement afterwards in the university of Paris, became so attached to study, that he says of himself, he left the pomp of military glory with the preroga-

Roscelin  
and Abe-  
lard.

neum, on account of that dulcissimum contubernium, which I had with you when a youth in the academy at Chartreux, under our venerable Socrates (Fulbert). I conjure you by those private evening conversations which he often had with us in the garden near the chapel, when he besought us with tears to keep on in the right way,” &c.

<sup>10</sup> Otto Frisingens de Gest. Fred. c. 47. p. 433.

BOOK  
II.  
LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

tives of primogeniture to his younger brother; and, preferring the dialectical art, he resolved to distinguish himself in it<sup>11</sup>. Thus what little credit may be attached to the origin of the scholastic philosophy, seems to belong to England, to the Anglo-Normans, and to Bretagne.

Abelard's  
life.

Abelard rambled over various provinces, disputing wherever he heard that the study of this art flourished. He came at last to Paris, about 1100, where this new topic then chiefly prevailed. William de Champeaux was the famous teacher there<sup>12</sup>. Abelard became his pupil; and interested his master, though he often ventured to argue with him, and sometimes to confute him. Abelard soon became ambitious of being a preceptor himself. This intention roused the jealousy and attacks of De Champeaux. But some great patrons favouring the young aspirant, he obtained leave to open a school, which he soon transferred to Paris; his fame and scholars multiplying as those of his master decreased.

Illness, brought on by excess of study, compelled him to revisit his native air. His master in the meantime had been made a bishop, and held his schools in a monastery. Abelard went to study rhetoric under him. His progress and controversies,

<sup>11</sup> These and the following particulars are taken from Abelard's account of himself, printed at the head of his works. It is an interesting piece of biography; and if Rousseau had read it, might have convinced him that his idea of writing his "Confessions" was not so original as he thought.

<sup>12</sup> It was to him that Hildebert, bishop of Tours, addressed his first letter, congratulating him on his conversion from the secular science of the age to true philosophy, or religion. Ep. 1. So that Champeaux started like Abelard, a disputatious layman at first. He was named the Venerable Doctor.

and tuition, again excited his master's displeasure; and Abelard, on his father's turning monk, being recalled by his mother, travelled afterwards to Laon, to hear Anselm, another applauded teacher<sup>13</sup>. He describes him, as he might perhaps have been described himself, to have had a great flow of words, with small sense; luxuriant foliage, with but scanty fruit. But here the restless avarice of fame pursued him. He thought he could lecture on the Scriptures better than Anselm, though he says he had known nothing of them before. He attempted it, and was preferred. His new master's persecution drove him again to Paris, and he remained quietly there for some years, reading glosses on Ezekiel. He states himself to have got money here, as well as reputation, but to have become immoral<sup>14</sup>. His intercourse with Heloise, and its unfortunate termination, occurred at this period. Recovering from its disasters, and attacked for some alleged opinions on the Trinity, on which he afterwards expressed his steady belief<sup>15</sup>, he was sent to a cloister, to be confined; and afterwards obtaining leave to go into a solitude, he went into a wilderness. Scholars

<sup>13</sup> This Anselm died 1117; he was the author of a Gloss on the Old and New Testament, which has been praised and printed. There was another Anselm at the same time, an episcopus Lucensis, whose work in defence of Gregory VII. against his Antipope, is in the Bib. Mag. vol. 15. p. 724.

<sup>14</sup> He owns the corrupting effects of prosperity on his mind—mundana tranquillitas vigorem enervat animi et per carnales illecebras facile resolvit. He adds, "while I thought I was the only philosopher in the world—fræna libidini cœpi laxare, qui antea vixeram continentissime." c. 5. p. 9.

<sup>15</sup> See his letter to Heloise, p. 308. and his own solemn confession and denial of the allegations charged against him. p. 330.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

eagerly followed him from cities and castles, living with him there on bread and herbs, lying on straw, building little huts to reside in, more resembling hermits than students, and making clods of earth their tables<sup>16</sup>. They supplied him with necessaries, they enlarged his little oratory, till at length they raised the monastery, which he called the Paraclete. His fame now spread over the whole world. He was attacked by the celebrated saint Bernard<sup>17</sup>, on many points. He answered him in several letters<sup>18</sup>. He continued an affectionate and intellectual correspondence with Heloise, become an abbess, encouraging her good resolutions, and exhorting her to piety. His genius was so admired, his eloquence was so impressive, and his subtlety so attracting, that we find not only England and Normandy sent him scholars, but even Rome; and also Flanders, Anjou, Poitou, Gascony, Spain, Germany and Sweden<sup>19</sup>;

<sup>16</sup> Another proof of the avidity with which mankind seek intellectual improvement wherever it is to be had.

<sup>17</sup> Mr. Berrington's account and panegyric of St. Bernard, will be read with pleasure, 278—284. But his early life seems to have been not so active as his panegyrist describes; for his contemporary antagonist, Berengarius, says to him—"Men are surprised to find in you, who are ignorant of the liberal arts, such a flow of eloquence.—We have heard, that, from almost the first rudiments of your youth, you made mimic songs, and popular melodies: Nor do we speak from uncertain opinion. Did you not seek to conquer your brothers, in contests of rime, and the ingenuity of acute invention?" He admits, however, that Bernard's fame had spread his writings over the world—*circumquoque fama divulgat*. He even adds, *caput tuum nubes tangebatur*. Ep. Abel. p. 302.

<sup>18</sup> Their controversial epistles are printed in Abelard's works.

<sup>19</sup> So says his friend Fulco, prior; and that no distance, no mountains, no dangers could deter scholars from flocking to him, and that crowds of English youths crossed the sea to him. Ep. Ab. 218.



so that he was really an intellectual Goliath of his day, as his sainted, but vehement antagonist, aspiring to be a victorious David, denominates him <sup>20</sup>.

Abelard lived at a period when a part of the European mind turning itself to study, and beginning to know, began also, from its very ignorance, to doubt, to cavil, and to criticise. The activity of the intellect commences with the commencement of our knowlege, but soon outstrips it. We make objections and raise questions before we have obtained information enough to answer them. We address these to others as ignorant as ourselves. Their minds become as sceptical, and yet remain as superficial as our own; and thus an age of doubt, debate, attack and disbelief, begins, on every subject to which the attention is directed. This had occurred in Arabia, and in Arabian Spain, but took the direction of the Aristotelian topics. It arose also in Europe, and in England, as the eleventh century closed; and as religion was then the most interesting subject of the intellectual thought, this newly created spirit fastened itself suddenly and tenaciously upon the Christian theology. The truths of the sacred scriptures were then eagerly attacked

CHAP.  
XI.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

<sup>20</sup> Proce<sup>d</sup>it Golias procero corpore, &c. with Arnold of Brescia for his squire.—Bernard goes on to say, that all eyes were turned upon him, to go out to meet him: Abnu<sup>i</sup> tum quia puer sum; et ille vir bellator ab adolescentia. Ep. p. 275. This letter to the Pope closes with that vindictive feeling which has disgraced so many disputants of the Romish church. He calls his opponents vulpes, and declares they should be exterminated with a strong hand. He even tells the Pope, that God made him great from a small condition, ut evellas et destruas. p. 274.—But the age was an age of violence.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

with all the pugnacity of the awakening, agile and controversial mind ; of mind happy in its activity, and therefore loving and courting the animating battle. These disputations soon became popular, because the exercise was enjoyment, the conflict a distinction, the defeat no disgrace, and conquest no security. While logic was made the weapon, the victory, though a thousand times won, might be as often re-disputed. Words give a supply of weapons that will never be exhausted while the tongue can utter or the pen transcribe ; and therefore, as soon as those investigations began, which laid the foundation of the scholastic philosophy, both religion and infidelity became converted into Aristotelian theme books ; and belief became unpopular, and, from this direction of the studious mind, almost impossible, unless it was associated with all the forms of the peripatetic logic, and by them could be defended, as by them it was assaulted.

It was this state of things that called Abelard into the controversial field. He says, that his scholars remarked to him, that their Christian faith had become ‘ involved in difficult questions, and seemed to stand asunder from human reason, and therefore should be upheld by more strong garrisons of the reason, especially against the impugnations of those who professed themselves to be philosophers.’ They added, that ‘ as the inquisitions of these persons assumed a more subtle appearance, it became so much the more difficult to solve them, and more easy to disturb the simplicity of religious faith.’ Hence, thinking Abelard sufficient to counteract these debaters, they entreated him to undertake the task.

Thus urged, he declares that it was in acquiescence with their wishes, that he sat down to compose his 'Introduction to Theology'<sup>21</sup>.

He begins this with stating, that he considers the sum of human salvation to consist in faith, love, and the sacrament. Faith, which comprehends hope, is the persuasion of things not apparent, that is, not subjected to the bodily sense; it is the belief of things good and evil—the past, the present, and the future. Love is an honourable affection, when directed to the end we ought to pursue, but otherwise, declines to the unbecoming and the disgraceful. Its noblest object is our great end; the supreme and superior cause. To Him our attention should be directed; in Him we should place our final aim. Nothing should be loved, nothing even be done, but on his account; that we may rest the end of all things in Him. A sacrament is the visible sign of His invisible grace<sup>22</sup>.

It is the merit of faith to believe what is not seen; we believe it in order to know; we do not know for the purpose of believing. What is faith but to credit what we do not see? Truth will be to see what we have accredited. The truth exists, though it be not visible to us now. It is not at present seen; it must therefore, as yet, be only believed: the sensible certainty will be attained hereafter. So, what is argued is not seen; reasoning is not sight. An argument cannot be visible. The inference is a subject of belief, not an object of sense<sup>23</sup>.

There are many things pertaining to God, which it does not concern us either to believe or to disbe-

CHAP.  
XI.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

Abelard's  
Introduc-  
tion to  
Theology.

<sup>21</sup> Abel. Opera, p. 974.

<sup>22</sup> Ib. 977—9.

<sup>23</sup> Ib. 981.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

lieve, and therefore, on all such we may do either ; as, whether he will allow it to rain to-morrow, or not ; or, whether he will extend mercy to this bad man or not. But faith, in some points, is necessary and essential.

The Christian faith maintains, that there is one Deity alone, and not more ; one Lord of all ; one Creator ; one principle ; one light ; one good ; one immense, one omnipotent, and one eternal Being ; one substance or essence, entirely immutable and simple ; not composed of parts ; and which can be only what He is. In this Godhead, this single, this individual and pure subsistence, are three Personalities, in all things coequal and coeternal, and yet distinct ; not, however, distinct in number of things, but in plurality of properties. Neither is the other ; the same God is each ; one in nature, one in number, and one in essence ; yet so personally distinguished in properties, that each is what He is, and nothing else <sup>24</sup>.

This profound subject—necessarily most profound from its concerning the greatest being that exists—the boundless Sovereign of an unbounded universe, after being thus introduced, occupies the three books of his Introduction to Theology, and the last disserts more particularly on the power, the wisdom, and goodness of the Divine Nature, which in the preceding part he has attempted to elucidate, on the points that were agitated by his more inquisitive contemporaries.

St. Bernard.

St. Bernard was at this period cultivating a monastic life in the retirement which he had founded

<sup>24</sup> Abel. Opera, 982, 983.

at Clairvaux. Of his sincere piety, his general ability, and of his earnest devotion, there can be no question. That cities were to him like a prison, and a solitude his paradise, he felt, and he declared <sup>25</sup>. His virtues procured him a reputation, and his character gave him an influence, which made him one of the intellectual sovereigns of his day. Hence, though withdrawn from the world into his cell, he was still solicited to interfere in its concerns, and he became active in several negotiations and disputes, and was tremulously sensible to all its religious agitations. The fame of Abelard attracted his notice, and he examined his opinions with a critical minuteness which, perhaps, might have been better spared; and he addressed an accusing letter against him to the bishops and cardinals <sup>26</sup>, and afterwards to pope Innocent <sup>27</sup>, complaining of some parts of his book on Theology, and of his other, intitled *Sententiarum*. The pope issued his rescripts against him, and enjoined him to perpetual silence <sup>28</sup>. One of his scholars, Berengarius, wrote in his justification <sup>29</sup>. Abelard suffered much from the opposition raised against him; and some kind religious friends interfered to procure a general reconciliation of the contending parties. Peter, the abbot of Clugny, solicited the pope in his behalf. He states in his mediating letter, that Abelard had become reconciled with Bernard; that he had dismissed his schools and retired from the contentious tumult of his studies, and had sought to fix his final residence at Clugny. ‘This,’ says the abbot, ‘we have granted, as it suited his age, his weakness, and his religious feelings; and we im-

<sup>25</sup> S. Bernard, Ep. p. 323.<sup>26</sup> Abel. Op. p. 271.<sup>27</sup> Ib. 272.<sup>28</sup> Ib. 299—302.<sup>29</sup> Ib. 302—319, 320.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.Abelard's  
latter days.

plore you to let the last days of his life and old age, which cannot now be many, be ended there. Let no one now expel him from the roof, to which, like the swallow, he has flown; nor from the nest, in which, like the dove, he delights to find himself; but as you cherish every good man, and once loved him, so now protect him with the shield of your apostolical defence<sup>30</sup>.’ The same worthy abbot some time afterwards sent a kind and consoling letter to Heloise, describing Abelard’s latter days, his meekness, humility, abstinence, and mild virtues; he was always reading, often praying, and usually silent. The abbot expresses his surprise that a man so famous should have become so humble and resigned. His mind, his tongue, his occupations, were always divine, philosophical and learned. He meditated, he taught, and he confessed. No moment passed in which he was not at his devotions, or reading, or writing, or dictating. His strength declined gradually away, and he died with every devout, lowly, and sanctified feeling<sup>31</sup>. Peter completed his friendship for Abelard by an affectionate epitaph<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Abel. Op. 336.<sup>31</sup> Ib. 337—342.<sup>32</sup> It will show how highly he was esteemed in his day:—

“ The Socrates of the Gauls; the greatest Plato of the west;  
Our Aristotle; to all the logicians that have existed,  
Either equal or superior. The acknowledged prince  
Of worldly studies; various in genius, subtile and acute;  
Conquering all things by the force of his reason, and in the art of  
speaking;

ABELARD WAS: but he then became the victor above all,  
When, becoming monk, and assuming the habit of Clugny,  
He passed over to the true philosophy of Christ,  
And completing well the last stages of a long life,  
Gave the hope that he would be numbered with the philosophic  
good.”

Abelard wrote a work against the irreligious opinions of his day, which he enumerates under the denomination of heresies<sup>33</sup>; and being, though not nominally the first, yet in popularity the first founder of the new scholastic philosophy, which had not then lost the old name of dialectics, he defended it against those who discountenanced it. These branded its dogmas as sophisms, and thought them rather deceptions than reasons. His resentment at the attack denied their knowledge of what they censured, and called them foxes, who said the cherries were of a bad taste, because, when they leapt up to reach them, they only fell down disappointed, from what hung too high. He admitted, however, that the appetite for quarrelling and the puerile ostentation of tricking an adversary were to be avoided. He allowed that there were many sophistical arguments, many false reasonings and false conclusions, very closely imitating what was true, that would delude, not only the dull, but even the ingenious, if they were not diligently attentive. But, drawing a distinction between the dialectical and the sophistical art, he contended, from his own admission, that in order to make this discrimination, men must qualify themselves to distinguish the false and the misleading from the true and the apt; and therefore, must study the logical discipline<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> It is intitled 'Adversus Hereses.' Op. p. 452—488.

<sup>34</sup> Ab. Op. 238—242. As Abelard was arraigned by St. Bernard for many erroneous opinions, it is just to him to hear his own answer to the accusation:—"I may have written some things by mistake which I ought not, but I never did so with any evil intention, or from presumption. I have spoken many things in many schools, but always openly. I expressed what seemed to me to be salubrious to religion and morals, and whatever I wrote I

BOOK  
II.  
LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.  
His character.

It is obvious, from Abelard's own account of his life, that an ardent vanity, and an ungovernable vivacity of mind, were his prevailing qualities. Those awful topics connected with the divine nature, which the Greeks were as fond of agitating as if they had concerned a mineral or a bird, which they could examine as they pleased, and of which they had full and visible knowlege, he was eager to discuss, and

exposed willingly to all, that they might be my judges, not my disciples; and I am at all times desirous to correct or expunge any mischievous expressions." In contradiction to the charges against him, he denies solemnly his imputed disbelief of the Divine Trinity, "My opinion is, that both the Son and the Holy Spirit are from the Father, and of the same subsistence, will and power. Their subsistence or essence is entirely the same, and there cannot be a diversity of will or inequality of power. The Son became incarnate to deliver us from the yoke of sin and Satan, and by his death has opened to us the gates of everlasting life." He proceeds to assert his eternal generation, and the procession of the Holy Spirit, as the third person in the Trinity from both the preceding personalities. On two other contested points he adds—"The Divine Grace is so necessary to us, that without it neither the faculties of nature nor freedom of our will can be sufficient for salvation; for that grace, by its previous operation, excites us to will, accompanies us to give the ability to perform, and associates itself with us to enable us to persevere.

"I believe that God does those things only which it is proper that he should do, and that he might do many things which he will never do.

"Bad actions done through ignorance are faults; but especially if through our negligence we be ignorant of what we ought to know.

"The Deity frequently hinders evil. He frequently defeats the effects of those intending it, so that what they would they cannot do; and often changes their will, that they should be diverted from what they meditate.

"From Adam we have contracted fault as well as punishment; because his sin is the origin and cause of all ours."—See his Apologue, or Confessio., 330—3.

proud to revive. He said he was anxious to give a reason for all things, even of those which are above reason, and to believe nothing which his reason could not touch <sup>35</sup>. This sounds plausibly, and would be just, if our knowlege of things were as universal and as boundless as nature; but it involves the manifest absurdity of making our ignorance the judge and the criterion of truth. To disbelieve what we do not know, can be the maxim only of the most rustic infatuation. At first the babe knows nothing, and therefore believes nothing; but this defect is caused by his babyhood, and is the mark of it. As he grows up, some knowlege gradually comes in, but only of a very small portion of existing facts and truths, and still less of what have passed. The manly maturity of the body is mistaken for the full possession of knowlege, reason and judgment; whereas the individual is but very little more advanced in his information, though completed in his external form. His ignorance is yet in the proportion of one truth to a thousand which surround him in nature; and notwithstanding this visible certainty, he assumes himself to be competent to decide on all things that concern the Deity, and his revelations and nature, and to deny their existence, justice and utility, as if he possessed all that was knowable, and had examined all that was true. Having attained myriads of facts on all the sciences, which Abelard was neither acquainted with nor would have thought within human acquisition, we feel strongly the absurdity of his making his rushlight information the rule and limit of his belief. But the lesson is not less applicable to ourselves. The existing unknown must

CHAP.  
XI.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

<sup>35</sup> Ab. Op. 277.

never be forgotten, or disbelieved, for every day is proving to us its reality, and educing from it new truths that were never before suspected to have a being. His presumption brought again into fashion those pernicious exercises of the mind, which only end in new collocations of words, new absurdities, and new resentments. His rashness made others vindictive. He provoked persecutions, discreditable to those who used them, and always ineffective to cure the evil they seek to remedy<sup>36</sup>, but of which his own intemperance must be fairly considered as one of the exciting causes. We now find that those dangerous subjects on which Abelard so eagerly employed himself, have no connection with the improvement of knowledge or the progress of society. Science and literature have at last agreed to leave them to the silent and reverent meditation of the pious hour, avoiding discussions, with which the public ought never to be disturbed; for what controversy has ever occurred which has not become a battle, in which the benign spirit of Christianity has been soon abandoned. But the world loved fighting, both with the sword and the pen, in the days of Abelard; and therefore the mighty talents of himself and his brother schoolmen were as uselessly, but less harmlessly employed, than if they had “wasted their

<sup>36</sup> I remember to have heard Mr. Fox say in the House of Commons, I thought with great truth—“I declare, I do not know how to fight opinion; but this I am sure of, that neither swords nor bayonets, racks nor dungeons, can extinguish or prevent it.”—History sufficiently shows, that erroneous opinions, if left to themselves, will, like some disorders, run a little round, and then naturally expire as society improves. Persecution gives them vitality, activity, diffusion, and a dangerous venom, whose operations injure the persecuting power as much as the persecuted individuals.



sweetness on the desert air<sup>37</sup>. His mind, however, improved with sobering years; his final opinions are expressed with a modesty, a temperance, and an anxious assertion of his sincerity and good intention, which every candid reader will peruse with sympathy and respect.

The defenders of the Catholic faith, after a while decrying and attacking the disquisitive schoolmen in England, as well as on the Continent, adopted at length the wiser plan, of studying the tactics and training themselves in the camps of their antagonists. Peter Lombard, who lectured at Paris, was one of the most distinguished of these wiser friends of the existing hierarchy. He studied carefully the scholastic metaphysics; he associated his ideas by their rules, and reasons in their style. He puts most of the questions of that excited day; but he answers them according to the established faith, and by organizing its authorities into the fashionable order. His "Sentences"<sup>38</sup>, a work so popular in the middle

CHAP.  
XI.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

Peter  
Lombard's  
Sentences.

<sup>37</sup> I will never apologise for persecution, because I am satisfied it is unwise as well as wicked; but I cannot wonder at it, when I read of such unprincipled egotists as Simon Churnai, a Doctor at Paris in 1201, who, having acquired great popularity and applause for an eloquent and orthodox lecture on Theology and the Trinity, was so foolish as to exclaim, "O, little Jesus! how greatly have I confirmed and exalted your law.—If I had chosen to have attacked it, I could have destroyed it by much stronger reasons and objections." Matt. Paris, p. 206.

<sup>38</sup> Sententiarum, libri iv. It is meant to contain the summa universæ theologiæ. He says in his prologus, that, unable to resist the wishes of studiosorum patrum, he was desirous to fortify the faith against errors of carnalium atque animalium hominum; and that in his four books he has displayed the fraudulentiam of the

ages, as to be every where studied, and incessantly commented upon, is an attempt to rein the increasing volatility and pugnaciousness of the improving mind, and to keep it within the Christian faith, by giving that faith a dress of logical form, and by connecting it with the researches then so much appreciated<sup>39</sup>. To please his age, he ventured to discuss points so little knowable, and so little serviceable in human affairs, as—when the angels were made, and how; whether they be all equal in essence, wisdom, and free will; whether they were created perfect and happy, or the reverse—whether the dæmons differ in rank among themselves; whether they all live in hell, or some are out of it—whether the good angels can sin, or the bad act virtuously; whether they have bodies; and, whether every person has or has not a good angel to preserve him, and a bad one to destroy him<sup>40</sup>. At these pompous weaknesses of human perversity, we may smile, and think Don Quixot as reasonable in his knight-errant career, as the schoolmen in debating on these untangible questions. But an analysis of the better parts of this work will be inserted in our fifth volume.

Most  
famous  
Doctors

The delusion went on till we had, mostly on the viper doctrine. Yet this vehemence did not secure him from a charge of heresy in his own writings. His prologue attempts rhetoric. He had not the clear and exact head of the English schoolmen.

<sup>39</sup> His first book is on the Deity and the Trinity: the second on angels, creation, the devil, and free will; the third, on our Saviour's incarnation and passion, sin, knowledge, and the Christian virtues; the fourth on the catholic sacraments.

<sup>40</sup> Sentent. l. 2.

side of the church, besides the venerable Doctor CHAP. XI.  
already mentioned,

|                              |                                 |                 |                                                       |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| The irrefragable Doctor      | - Alexander Hales <sup>41</sup> | - fl. 1230.     | HISTORY<br>OF THE<br>SCHOLAS-<br>TIC PHI-<br>LOSOPHY. |
| The angelical Doctor         | - Thomas Aquinas                | - — 1256.       |                                                       |
| The seraphic Doctor          | - Bonaventura                   | - - - — 1260.   |                                                       |
| The wonderful Doctor         | - Roger Bacon                   | - - - — 1240.   |                                                       |
| The most profound Doctor,    | Ægidius de Columna              | — 1280.         |                                                       |
| The most subtle Doctor       | - John Dun Scotus <sup>42</sup> | - — 1304.       |                                                       |
| The most resolute Doctor,    | Durand                          | - - - - — 1300. |                                                       |
| The invincible Doctor        | - W. Occham <sup>43</sup>       | - - - — 1320.   |                                                       |
| The perspicuous Doctor       | - Walter Burley <sup>44</sup>   | - - - — 1320.   |                                                       |
| The most enlightened Doctor, | Raymond Lully                   | - — 1300.       |                                                       |

<sup>41</sup> He became a Franciscan. He studied at Paris; and died there 1245. Tanner, Bib. p. 371, who enumerates his works. He was the master of Duns Scotus. He wrote on the *Sententiarum Liber* of Lombard.

<sup>42</sup> Born in the village Duns, eight miles out of England. He also wrote on the *Sentences*, and on Aristotle's works. He went from Oxford to Paris, and engaged in the controversies there agitated. He was a Franciscan, and the master of Occham. He died 1308, at Cologne. Tanner, Bib. 239. He started a new opinion on grace, against Thomas Aquinas, which long divided the schoolmen. He is styled by his editor "Theologorum omnium princeps."

<sup>43</sup> Born in Surrey, a Franciscan. He supported the nominal sect. He died 1347. His *Summa totius logicæ* was printed at Venice 1508. His foreign editor calls him *omnium logicorum acutissimi; inviolatæ scholæ invictissimorum nominalium inceptores*. Occham says, he writes his book to collect all the rules of the art of logic into one treatise, p. 1. It is in three parts. He quotes Avicenna. There is great conciseness, precision, clearness, and decision, in Occham's writings. The ancient preface to Occham says of him—"I think the chief of these to have been the venerable doctor, in his nation an Englishman—of the minor friars—sublime in the success of his genius and in the strength of his learning." Occh. Log. p. 1.

<sup>44</sup> He was born 1275. From his great reputation, he was appointed preceptor to Edward III. He attacked the opinions of Duns Scotus; he studied at Oxford and Paris, and was at last

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

Besides friar Bacon, who belongs to a superior class, the class of true philosophers, five of these martial pugilists, the venerable, the irrefragable, the most subtle, the invincible, and the perspicuous, were born, and first fought their zealous fight, in the British Islands.

Their im-  
portant  
effects on  
the mind.

Nor these only : So rapidly did the disputations fever spread, that England abounded with these scholastic students in the reigns of Henry II. and his three immediate successors <sup>45</sup>. We learn from a contemporary writer, that a new order of mind, a new range of study, appeared in England by the time that Richard I. acceded. The ancient poets and historiographers, the venerated classics, were not only neglected, but despised. Rhetoric was treated with the contempt which indeed it merited. Logic was new cast. Grammar itself was altered ; the old rules and paths of the quadrivium were abandoned <sup>46</sup>. The new philosophy glared in the literary atmo-

made bishop of Ulm in Suabia. His works were on some of the principal subjects of Aristotle's treatises, and of the schoolmen : also, de motu animalium, de sensibus, on memory, length of life, and the tides ; on the soul, and on ethical, æconomical, and political subjects. He died 1338. Some of his works have been printed after Grosteste's book. See the catalogue of his writings in Tanner, Bib. 141, 142.

<sup>45</sup> John of Salisbury directs the first portion of his *Metalogicus* to an attack on what he calls the new sect of philosophy. He personifies one of its defenders under the name of Cornificius, and he paints him with features that have the air of being as exaggerated as those of a Saracen on a sign-post, ch. 1, 2, & 3. This work was neatly printed at Leyden 1639, at the end of the *Polycraticus*.

<sup>46</sup> Poetæ, historiographi habebantur infames.—Ecce nova fiebant omnia ; innovabatur grammatica ; immutabatur dialectica ; contemnebatur rhetorica ; et novas toti quadrivii vias, evacuatis priorum regulis, de ipsis philosophiæ adytis proferebant. *Metal.* p. 741.

sphere like a comet, attracting to itself the admiration and attention of the most intellectual part of society, and depreciating the value of all other studies <sup>47</sup>. Implicit faith, dogmatical creeds, learned authority, and even plain facts, were undervalued. Conventia and reason were made the criterions of truth <sup>48</sup>. He who had not imbibed the new philosophy, was treated as being duller than the long-eared animal of Arcadia, more obtuse and stupid than either lead or stone <sup>49</sup>.

CHAP.  
XI.  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

In this rage for the disquisition of a specious intellectual novelty, which so strongly roused the spleen of our valuable John of Salisbury, we see the innate love of improvement, its appetite for truth and reason, so inseparable from the human character, exerting themselves in all their energies <sup>50</sup>. It was enough

Attacked  
by John of  
Salisbury.

<sup>47</sup> It is an instance of the blindness of even worthy minds, when novelties occur, that J. Salisbury did not perceive the expressive force and beneficial import of the words he was using: "They brought from the very depths of their philosophy, novas vias of the whole quadrivium;" that is, new paths in arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music! But, perhaps, we ought not to blame him for not anticipating the vast flood of knowledge to which these new ways ultimately led. This passage, however, shows us the immense utility and importance of the rise and labours of the schoolmen.

<sup>48</sup> Solam convenientiam sive rationem loquebantur. This argument, he adds, sounds in the mouth of all; and to name a mule or a man, or some of the works of nature, was like a crime, the act of a simpleton or an uncultivated mind, and which a philosopher should shun. It was thought impossible to say or do any thing convenienter et ad rationis normam, unless the mention of conveniency and reason was expressly inserted. Metal. p. 741.

<sup>49</sup> Si quis incumbibat laboribus antiquorum, he was marked, and was a laughter to all, as if not only asello Arcadiæ tardior sed obtusior plumbo, vel lapide. Metal. p. 740.

<sup>50</sup> Abelard had made the same struggle for the independent



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

that the new philosophy pretended to create great mental superiority, and was at least original and plausible. These claims were sufficient to excite the popular admiration, and to engage the popular pursuit. Even the sloth and luxury of the cloister could not resist the spirit-stirring study. Monks aspired to attain, and were industrious to spread it. "Many admirers of this new sect," says Salisbury, "have entered the cloisters of the monks and clergy; but while a portion of these became sensible of their error, and confessed that what they had learnt was mere vanity and vexation, others, hardening themselves in their insanity, swelling with their inveterate perverseness, preferred to rave in their folly, than to be taught faithfully by those humble minds to whom God has given grace. If you do not believe me," he adds, "go into the cloisters; examine the manners of the brethren; and you will find there all the arrogance of Moab intensely glowing<sup>51</sup>."

exertion of reason. "What does it profit," he exclaimed in a passage which St. Bernard censures, "to speak *ad doctrinam*, if what we wish to teach cannot be explained so that it may be understood?" *Ab. Op.* p. 277. Hence Abelard defined faith to be *estimatio*; on which Bernard exclaims, "As if it were lawful to every one to feel and speak in that what he liked, or that the sacrament of our faith should remain uncertain in vague and various opinions. Faith, therefore, adds the Saint, is not *estimatio sed certitudo*." p. 283. Bernard is right in his principle, but wrong in its application. Faith once fixed on truth is certitude, both in its feeling and in its object; but it requires the previous exercise of reason, that it may not fasten on chimeras, as the Romish hierarchy in the thirteenth century, often wished it to do. This previous use of reason the schoolmen claimed; and the papal doctors were forced to deny it, because their existence depended on the practice being discredited.

<sup>51</sup> *Metalog.* l. 1. c. 4. p. 742.

Our venerable author discloses to us another fact, that these new-directed and ardent minds, feeling their logical philosophy to excite without satisfying their understandings, applied themselves to the study of physic, to give them the solid knowlege they panted for. Some went to the best schools abroad to study the art of medicine <sup>52</sup>, and although the moral satirist, unable then to discern the connection between their pursuits and the improvement of society, attacks this new direction of their curiosity with fresh satire <sup>53</sup>, we can have no hesitation to class these venturous reasoners, thus seeking to combine physical science with scholastic acuteness, and striving to raise the human mind to new paths of inquiry, among the most important benefactors to the British intellect in its early vegetation.

From the work of this ingenious churchman, we perceive that he himself had gone deep into these fashionable studies. I do not know where to point out a neater and more comprehensive summary of the logical and metaphysical works of Aristotle, than in the *Metalogicus* of John of Salisbury <sup>54</sup>. As so

<sup>52</sup> He says, that others of this new school, beholding a defect in their philosophy, go to Salernum or Montpelier, and are made there *Clientuli Medicorum*. *Ib.* p. 743.

<sup>53</sup> His sneer is, that just as they became philosophers, so in a moment they burst out physicians. They boast of Hippocrates and Galen; they protrude words unheard of before; they apply their aphorisms to every thing, and strike the human mind like thunder, with their tremendous phrases. *Ib.*

<sup>54</sup> It forms the main theme of his book, after he has discharged his bile at the innovating schoolmen. It is another proof of the importance of these men whom he was depreciating, that he himself attempts in this work to raise the study of rhetoric with all its tropes, colores and puerilities, into the public estimation again.

BOOK  
II.  
LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

profound a student had well qualified himself to judge, he had acquired a right to censure. Having, like Solomon, fully enjoyed and exhausted the pleasure of a favourite pursuit, his experience united with his reason to condemn its inanity, and to satirize its abuse. Weighing it in the balances strictly by itself, his criticism was correctly right: It disclosed no knowlege: it communicated no wisdom; its benefits lay hid in its consequences, which had not then been evolved<sup>55</sup>. The very bursting of the bands of venerated authority, though perhaps the result often rather of proud vanity than of enlightened reason, was good, not so much in its immediate produce as in its future effects. A torpefying spell was taken off from the human mind; and if the first schoolmen only used their new liberties in extravagance and insolence, they were soon followed by better thinkers, who combined knowlege with reasoning, and, by a wise moderation, made the freedom

Hence, he praises St. Bernard for his manner of teaching the *figuras grammaticæ*, the *colores rhetorices*, and the *cavillationes sophismatum*. p. 782.

<sup>55</sup> It is just to the memory of W. Occam, to say, that he directed his scholastic talents against the usurpations and conduct of the Roman pontiff. He wrote *De utili dominio rerum ecclesiasticarum et abdicatione bonorum temporalium in perfectione status monachorum et clericorum adversus errores Johannis papæ*. This was printed at Lyons, 1495.—He also wrote a *Tractatum quod Benedictus 12, papa nonnullas hereses Joannis 22, amplexus est et defendit*. This was in MS. at Paris, in Bibl. Colbertina.—He composed also the *Compendium errorum Joannis 23, papæ*, Tanner Bib. 555; and a *Defensorum logices, quo convellit violentum Romani episcopi imperium*; and an *Invectivum contra possessiones Rom. Pont.* Leland, *Descript. Brit.* vol. 2. p. 323. As he attacked the pope, the pope excommunicated him. He accused the pope of teaching 77 heresies.

they assumed, valuable to themselves and useful to the world <sup>56</sup>.

CHAP.  
XI.

It will be unnecessary to detail all the names that may be collected from ancient documents, of the English students of the scholastic philosophy. Pullen, who became a cardinal <sup>57</sup>;—Simon Langton, to whom we owe, in a great measure, Magna Charta;—the intrepid and patriotic bishop Grosteste, foremost in every useful pursuit of his day; the friend

HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.  
Other  
schoolmen

<sup>56</sup> In quitting John of Salisbury, I cannot forbear noticing the account which he gives of his studies, as it shows the laborious application with which the scholars of the middle ages pursued the knowlege they valued. He says, that in the year after Henry I. died, he went to the Peripatetic school at Paris, on the Mount of St. Genevieve, and there studied logic; he afterwards adhered to Master Alberic, as opinatissimus dialecticus, and an acerrimus impugnator of the Nominal sect. He was two years with him, and Robert Metridensis an Englishman, both men acuti ingenii et studii pervicacis. He then for three years transferred himself to William de Conchin, to imbibe his grammatical knowledge.—After this he followed Richard, called the Bishop, retracing with him what he had learnt from others, and the quadrivium; and also heard the German Harduin. He re-studied rhetoric, which he had learnt from Master Theodoric, and more completely from Peter Helias. Being poor, he supported himself by teaching the children of the noble, and contracted an intimate acquaintance with Master Adam, an Englishman, and a stout Aristotelian. He prosecuted afterwards the study of logic with William of Soissons. Returning at the end of three years, he heard Master Gilbert on logic, and on divine subjects; then Robert Pullen, and also Simon Periacensis, a faithful reader, but a heavy disputer. These two last were his only teachers in theology. Thus, he adds, I passed twelve years occupied by these various studies. Metal. l. 2. c. 10. p. 802—805.

<sup>57</sup> “Robertus Pullen, whose memory is pleasant to all good men, and whom the apostolic seat made a chancellor from a scholastic doctor.” Metal. p. 746.

and cultivator of poetry, scholastic philosophy, Arabian learning, natural philosophy, mathematics, divinity, and canon and civil law; and the fearless and successful assertor of the liberties of the English church, and protector of the English clergy, against the taxations and tyranny of the pope<sup>59</sup>;—Commentators on Lombard's book of Sentences, almost innumerable<sup>60</sup>: These, and many others of equal application, though of minor fame, show in their numerous works the subjects, the nature and the value, of the scholastic philosophy, which appears to have been peculiarly cultivated in England<sup>61</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> See the copious and astonishing list of his works, most still in MS. in Tanner, *Bib. Mon.* p. 345—351. They are equal in number to any of the great Arabian philosophers: indeed in one trait he surpassed them, for he also wrote poetry. See his *Chastel d'Amour*, Harl. MSS. 1121.

<sup>60</sup> We may guess the number of these, from the facts, that no fewer than nine Englishmen of the Christian name of Richard commented upon him—as, R. Rufus, in 1270; R. Cornubiensis, R. Ruys, R. Middleton, 1300; R. Nottingham, 1320; R. Conington, 1330; R. Wilton, 1339; R. Fishacre, 1345; and R. Wickingham, in 1381.—There were also nine Roberts, of the British Islands, who chose the same task; as Rob. Waldock, 1272; R. Crowe, 1300; R. Walsingham, 1310; R. Carew, 1326; R. Cotton, 1340; R. Eliphat, 1340; R. Leicester, 1348; R. Worsop, 1350; R. Walaby, 1399. Also, three Ralphs, as Ralph Loxley, 1310; R. Acton, 1320; R. Radiptor, 1350. Also, Roger Reyseth, and Roger Swinehead, 1350; as also Stephen Petringtan, 1417.—As these five Christian names were taken by me at random, I have no doubt that some others would yield as copious a list of commentators on this celebrated work of the *Magister Sententiarum*.

<sup>61</sup> I infer this from observing, that more English authors on this subject are commemorated in the biography of literature, than of any other country. Indeed I think I shall not exceed the truth if I say, that if you take any subject of literature or knowlege,



The schoolmen became divided insensibly into two classes : those, who allowed themselves to discourse without limits ; and those, who defended the existing hierarchy and all its theological system. Of these last it will be just to say that they, and especially Aquinas, Bonaventura, and Duns Scotus, stood, usefully at that time, in the gap between philosophy and theology, and kept them from bitter and irreconcilable variance<sup>62</sup>. But for them, it is not improbable that the study of the Arabian metaphysicians, which unfettered, might have diseased the mind by its own extravagancies, and filled the world with scepticism, and with that selfishness and sensuality which the Grecian spirit of debate and incredulity had produced, when the Roman empire fell<sup>63</sup>.

CHAP.  
XI.HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.Their  
scepticism.

from the time of the Norman conquest, you will find more English writers on it, than of any other single country—and that, reviewing our writers on each collectively, they have done more on every topic they have handled, than those of any other country. I pen this with a belief that I do not exaggerate.

<sup>62</sup> We find from John of Salisbury, that the more scriptural teachers were not only denied to be philosophers, but were scarcely endured as clergymen. They were called the oxen of Abraham, and Balaam's asses—*nec modo philosophos negant, imo nec clericos patiuntur, vix homines sinunt esse; sed boves Abrahæ vel asinos Balaamitos duntaxat nominant, imo derident.* Metal. p. 746.

<sup>63</sup> Among the erroneous opinions of the day, condemned at Paris in 1270, we find such as these—that the world was eternal—that there never was a first man—that the soul dies with the body—that free-will is governed by necessity—that the Deity knows nothing but himself—that human actions are not governed by Divine Providence—that the Deity cannot give immortality to a mortal creature—that the first cause cannot make many worlds—and has not any knowledge of the future; together with a great many tenets on the Deity and religion, which certainly went to destroy the belief of his existence, and of Christianity also. See them printed at the end of Lombard's work, ed. Cologne, 1609.

The philosophical doctrine of the scholastic age was, that religious knowlege was unnecessary, and that the disciplinæ philosophiæ were sufficient. Hence Thomas Aquinas was forced to begin his elaborate work, by proving logically that the sacra doctrina was also essential, and that it was a real science <sup>64</sup>. His exertions, among others, served to keep the mind in a balance between philosophy and religion, till succeeding thinkers could discern the corruption from the primeval truth, and reform, without destroying, the ecclesiastical system <sup>65</sup>.

These panegyricized masters, like all the other men of learning whom we have noticed, excited the curiosity of their contemporaries to extensive disquisitions, and contributed to form the intellect of the ages that succeeded them; and, limited to these beneficial results, we may justly sanction their ancient reputation. There is indeed something very serviceable to the mind in the mode of Thomas Aquinas. He first proposes the question he has to consider; then, with all the candour of Dr. Paley, he fairly and fully states two arguments against it.

<sup>64</sup> T. Aquinas Summa Theolog. p. 1. These topics form his two first articles.

<sup>65</sup> Of this description was our venerable Wickliffe. It is remarkable that France has, in the present age of knowlege, furnished no person who united enough of philosophy and of religion, to meliorate without destruction. Nothing but the extremes of total belief or total disbelief of the Christianity of Rome, have yet appeared there—extremes that will yet shake the nation, until a Melancthon, an Erasmus, or a Luther, emerge. The same remark may be applied to Spain and Italy. It was a great beauty in the English intellect, as afterwards in the German, that it attained to separate the injurious appendage from the substantial truth.

He subjoins to these his own reasons for the opinion he supports ; and, having thus placed both sides of the subject before the reader's attention, he draws his conclusion, and adds some remarks in refutation of the opposing arguments. On this plan he steadily proceeds through all the innumerable ramifications of his moral, metaphysical, political and religious work <sup>66</sup>.

That this popular art made no one wiser, and that the questions most commonly discussed by it were useless to every class of society, was perceived so early as to be remarked by our reasonable John of Salisbury <sup>67</sup>. Even Becket was admonished by him to avoid them <sup>68</sup>. And the sportive Mapes, ever looking around him with an eye prompt to notice the ridiculous, exhibits, with correct satire, Aristotle as beating the air ; and logic, as raving with agitated lips <sup>69</sup>.

CHAP:  
XI.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

<sup>66</sup> See his *Summa*, passim.—Of this celebrated man I state with pleasure, that his sentiments, on some points highly interesting to human welfare, were liberal and wise. He makes the common good the principle of government, vol. 2. p. 96. He says, that princes taking things unjustly, are guilty of rapine, p. 126. He speaks highly of intellect, and even makes it a virtue, p. 97. He decides that Jews and Gentiles ought not to be compelled to Christianity ; and, therefore, perhaps humoured the prejudices of his order against his own judgment, when he added, that heretics and apostates might be. p. 21.

<sup>67</sup> *Metalogicus*, l. 2. c. 6.

<sup>68</sup> Becket *Ep.* l. 1. p. 47. He says, *Scholaris exercitatio interdum scientiam auget ad tumorem.*

<sup>69</sup> *Est Aristoteles verberans aëra—  
Concussis æstuat in labiis logica.*

See before.

Le Sage's description of his logical students is a good commentary on Mapes. *Nos yeux étoient pleins de fureur et nos bouches ecu-*

In a preceding chapter we have endeavoured to give a just idea of the true merit and real utility of Aristotle; but now that he has achieved all the good which his works were calculated to produce, and that a new style of mind, without the blemishes which he corrected, has become the character of Europe; and that an indestructible treasure of real knowledge has become our common patrimony, which sets the sophist at defiance, we feel his logical works to be laborious, obscure and difficult effusions of ancient philosophy, and no longer useful. Our scientific information has crowded upon us from other quarters, and through other methods, and therefore we now perceive him to be a teacher of a system of verbal disputation distinct from the acquisition of real knowledge. Experience has decided that his method, notwithstanding its great ingenuity, has never led the mind to one beneficial discovery, or established one true theory. Though intended to end the reign of error, and it has suppressed many, yet in its turn it became the means of eternal controversy, re-producing some of the evils it was meant to destroy. It was soon found to be a moveable mechanism of words<sup>70</sup>, whose active powers no use

mantes. On nous devoit plutot prendre pour des possédés que pour des philosophes.—We may learn how Mapes was estimated by his contemporaries, from an unpublished work of Giraldus. He says of him; “It is time that I should turn ‘ad sales saporifero sapientię sale conditos, urbanasque reprehensiones Oxonien. Archidi. W. Mapi.—Lib. de distinc. MS. Cotton Lib. Tib. B 13.

<sup>70</sup> Hugo St Victor, who died 1140, in classing philosophy under three heads, Logica, Ethica, and Theorica, while he allots to his theorica, physics and mathematics, very sensibly ascribes to logic only words—“Logica de vocibus; ethica de moribus; theorica de rebus tractat.” In Spec. Eccl. ap. Bib. Mag. vol. 10. p. 1363.

can exhaust, no hostility defeat. This specious quality suited and interested our ancestors ; and we must admit that they were for a time benefited by its adoption. They had no knowlege to make a better use of, and they were surrounded by a superstition becoming tyrannical, perhaps insensibly to itself, whose tendency was to paralyze their faculties, and to extinguish judgment in slavish credulity. In this state the Aristotelian logic was a weapon of the busy mind, always hewing the fetters that were ever forging to confine it<sup>71</sup>. Though it exercised itself on words, the exercise was freedom, the activity was health, because it educated men to think and argue; and argument was victory against political theology<sup>72</sup>. As Providence took care that true knowlege should pour in at the same period, Aristotle, pursued by experimental philosophy, became a master always tending to make scholars wiser than himself. His tuition certainly generated vivacity and acuteness of intellect; and mind, thus excited, fastening afterwards on better knowlege, perceived the inanity of its former preceptor, and emancipated itself from his

<sup>71</sup> How sensible the zealous friends of the Romish system were of this, we may infer from Peter, the abbot Cellensis, who flourished about 1180. In his *Mystica expositio*, dedicated to our John of Salisbury, he says, "The Aristotelian grove is not to be planted near the altar, lest we should darken the sacraments of faith, by endless and superfluous disquisitions, which are useful only to the subversion of their hearers." *Bib. Mag.* vol. 9. p. 919.

<sup>72</sup> The emphatic words of St Bernard show the eagerness with which the new style of reasoning was received, and its important effects. "Their books fly; their darkness invades cities and castles; they pass from nation to nation, from one kingdom to another. A new gospel is fabricated for peoples and states; a new faith is proposed; a very different foundation is laid, for that which was anciently established." *Abel. Epist.* p. 273.



BOOK  
II.  
LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

shackles by the very vigour which he had created. Persons were perpetually deserting the logical schools, to cultivate more satisfactory knowlege<sup>73</sup>; and logic, thus combined and governed by physical science, operated at last only to improve the judgment, to create a spirit of criticism, and to naturalize an independence and an activity of inquiry, which has contributed powerfully to strengthen and enlarge the British intellect.

Defects of  
the scho-  
lastic logic.

The schoolmen were certainly in a continual exercise of disputing mind, but their logic was not applied to discover unknown truth; it was emulously used merely to discuss the truth or falsehood of any asserted or stated proposition. Their chief aim was to distinguish themselves; and therefore, their great delight was to impugn and to overthrow; or, if themselves assailed, to defend what they chose to espouse, with never-yielding pertinacity. They did not inquire what *was* true in nature, but what must be true or false, according to their logical system. Hence they put all thought and nature into the fetters of their peculiar argumentation, and would reason and contemplate them only through the Aristotelian categories. They looked for the predicaments in all things; and not for natural properties and effects. They sought, as the means and perfection of their art, to reduce all facts and things into brief definitions and propositions; which, once made, were all that was considered. Every syllogism consisted of a major definition, to which a minor was attached; and from these, a short conclusion was drawn, which became a specific proposition—the settled object of resistance and attack. All their knowlege was thus

<sup>73</sup> See Friar Bacon, in his *Opus Magus*.

broken and separated into little fortified towns of dogmatical assertions, which must either be assaulted by the same kind of artillery, or be admitted to stand triumphant and impregnable.

CHAP.  
XI.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

The benefit of the art was, that it taught men to be exact in the selection of the most unobjectionable words, and to use the fewest and most precise, by which the meaning could be expressed, that they might be less open to the attacks of their adversary. They accustomed themselves to reason severely and strictly on the expressions to which they reduced their arguments, and to confine their opponents to the same exactitude. These habits introduced great mental force, activity, closeness and concentration, and destroyed the reign of rhetoric and style.

But it necessarily produced three connected evils, which seem to be inseparable from all artificial logic ;—

I. It is always reducing and contracting truths, and their numerous relations, to petty verbal definitions, which blind and chain the mind, and keep the great facts of the subject out of sight.

II. It takes the mind from considering the real truths and properties of things, to the exclusive contemplation of the words which the disputants use ; and thus it converts discussion into unserviceable argument of terms.

III. Hence it creates a narrow verbal mind, acute in battles of words, but mistaking logic for truth, arguing for reasoning, and definitions for facts, till the intellect is at last disabled, by its own habitual sophistry and verbal conflicts, from discerning the realities of nature, from knowing their relations, or desiring to trace them, and from modestly studying

the actual properties of things. Hence the natural philosopher and the metaphysical logician have been always distinct characters; the last mostly conversant with words, and the first seeking only after facts. The perception of this effect led lord Bacon to call the human mind from argument to observation, from dispute to experiment, and from dialectic sophistry to philosophical induction. The more we meditate on the subject, we shall feel that artificial logic is always tending to create that most useless of all characters, a verbal polemic. In like manner all schools and societies of debate operate to create a verbal sophistry of mind, distinct from sound judgment, or from the attainment of truth. They fix the eye on the victory, not on the just thought, and too often make the discussion a personal battle for a personal success. Philosophical induction must never be confounded with logical discussion, from which it is quite distinct, as well in form and spirit as in utility and purpose.

IV. The scholastic logic also withered and suppressed the noblest part of man—the sensibilities of the sympathizing heart: it was equally uncongenial with the ever-interesting pictures of the rich, the impressive, and the elegant fancy.

The schoolmen contended that their art teaches us to dissolve every species of sophism<sup>74</sup>: this may be true; but it no less instructs and enables the sophist to frame his sophisms; it equally qualifies the assaulter and the assailed; it makes the artillery of defence as abundant and as vigorous as the artillery of attack; it caused the resistance to be as agile

<sup>74</sup> ‘Omneque genus sophismatis docet dissolvere.’ W. Occham, Log. p. 1.

and as pertinacious as the charge ; and it was, therefore, really useless to the cause of truth. Whoever reads their contests about the universals, whether these had a real existence, or were only terms, will fully see that logic has been, and ever will be, of small benefit in the discovery of what is true. It is like the science of military tactics, as useable by one side as by the other ; and can be, and has always been, applied to support the worst cause as well as the best. The factitious art of logical reasoning seems, therefore, to deserve little patronage among mankind. The cultivation of a sound judgment, which, like good taste and virtue, depends not upon argument, syllogisms, definitions or sophistry, is that which logic rather confuses than assists, and which must arise from other disciplines and superior studies.

The schoolmen very highly estimated their dialectic skill. ‘Logic,’ says Occham, ‘is the most apt instrument of all the arts ; and without which, no science can be perfectly possessed. It is not, like the manual instruments of the mechanic, consumed by use, but, on the contrary, it receives continual increase from the studious exercise of it on every other art or science. As a workman gains a more perfect knowlege of his tools by using them, so a scholar, who has learnt the solid principles of logic, will apply his labours more effectually in every other science, the more skill he has acquired in the dialectic art<sup>75</sup>.’ His ancient editor goes farther : he thinks, ‘that no one can have access to knowlege or wisdom unless he has first trained himself in the art of logic.

<sup>75</sup> Occ. Log. p. 1.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

It detects all error, and disperses all darkness; it directs the exertion of human reason, as light does our bodily movements; without it, things arise like the dreams of the sick, or the fictions of the poets<sup>76</sup>."

But the professors of every art or science, even down to the dancing-master, are too prone to vaunt the superiority of their favorite studies.

All these discussions, and the great minds that waged this dialectic warfare, have now fallen into that vast tomb of oblivious time to which all that is useless or mischievous is finally consigned. No one, indeed, could press the art of arguing farther than these acute men attempted and effected. They did all that logic could do. Their object was to reason, with its most irrefragable formulas, to conclusions that could not be shaken; and they were perpetually building up and throwing down their own and each other's logical fabrics with unwearied activity and reciprocal success. They accomplished all that the use of words could achieve, and they abundantly show us, that systems and forms of logic are little else than combinations of terms, by which truth and falsehood may be equally supported.

Sound judgment can exist no where without right opinions and adequate information; as these occur, it successively grows, strengthens and amplifies. But, that logic as often impedes as assists its formation, the world's daily argumentations, continual controversies, endless theories, and most logically reasoned compositions, on all sides of every disputed question, satisfactorily intimate to the dispassionate observer. Every wrong opinion that we adopt precludes a correct judgment, as far as that

<sup>76</sup> Occ. Log. p. 1.



can operate ; but logic is as often allied to wrong opinions as to right ones, and leads us astray from truth more frequently than it conducts us to it. It makes definitions to suit its inferences, and then argues triumphantly on the fetters which it imposes.

CHAP.  
XI.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

Nothing is a greater blessing than sound judgment ; no quality is more rare ; none is less likely to be artificially made ; no one is more injured by factitious argumentation. Logic may fabricate a wrangler, but not a judge.

The definitions of logic are much valued and recommended, but no part of logic is more productive of deception and sophistry, nor more applicable to them, than these have been, and can be always made to become.

Ill effects  
of logical  
definitions.

When any thing is reduced into a definition, it is, in fact, dwindled and cut down into so many words as compose the definition. In these words the thing defined is afterwards contemplated ; on these it is discussed ; and the attack and the defence become entirely on them. The actual thing is seen no more, but in the defining terms ; and the debate upon it, after they are submitted to, becomes a conflict of words against words ; and as equivocations subtleties, distinctions, disputes, arguments and phrases may be pursued on words without any end, all logical definitions are themes of perpetual battle, and defences of all sorts of sophistry. The sophist, who has a peculiar result to establish, has only to frame his definition so as to suit best the verbal deduction of the inference he contemplates, and if he can persuade his antagonist to adopt his definition, he begins his discussion with an assurance of victory, though, in fact, his victorious inference is the victory of his definition, not of the truth.

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

Definitions are thus the inventions of logicians seeking victory in a controversy ; not the discoverers of truth ; they are the weapons of battle, not the instruments of judgment. A definition can only be a just one, when it is a full description of all that relates to the thing defined ; less than this, is but a selection of a part, and the substitution of that for the whole. It cannot, therefore, be used without delusion ; for it withdraws the mind from the totality to the fragment ; and confines the consideration to an imperfect, narrow, partial and interested view of a small portion of the subject, that ought to be seen and treated of in all its fullness and reality, unbroken and unchained. But on this statement it is obvious, that as far as truth is the object, no definitions would be ever used as limitations of the reasoning ; for as soon as they are applied to limit they begin to hoodwink and deceive. A logical definition is a controversial device, creating a battle of words, and used principally for the purpose of a personal triumph. Hence, the verbal wrangler always seeks to get his questions reduced to definitions, because, after that, the dispute ceases to be an investigation of the truths of the thing defined, and becomes a battle of words on the terms to which it has been contracted, and on which the most ingenious verbal debater is most sure of the argumentative triumph.

The true use of definitions is that for which they are used in the natural sciences ; that is, as names, marks, tickets or indexes, pointing the attention to what is alluded to, and thereby separating it from other things. The first order of the mammalia is defined by Linnæus to be ‘ fore-teeth cutting, upper four parallel, two pectoral teats ;’ and the monandria class of vegetables is also defined to be those

‘with one stamen,’ and its first order to have ‘one style.’ But if we were absurd enough to suppose all the qualities of the plants and animals in these orders to be included in these brief definitions, and to argue upon them as such, we should do what is done by disputers, who reduce great subjects of thought to petty definitions, and then govern all the reasonings within the artificial circle, which has been thus made the mind’s voluntary prison. If any of the combatants attempt to take a larger field, as soon as they perceive the undue confinement of the boundary they have chosen, the adversary, whose advantages rest upon their being so restricted, denies their right to have it, and insists upon their remaining in it till he has extinguished their vitality, or made them his captives.

Hence the character of the discussions of the schoolmen, and the radical defect of logic, and of all argumentation, may be stated to be, that the mind is turned by them from truth to words. It is not the thought of the speaker which is studied or reflected on, but the terms in which he expresses it. To confute him by the words he uses becomes the object; these only are looked at, or adverted to; and instead of being taken as the mere finger-posts to his ideas, are confounded with them, and supposed to be no other. But words can be eternally debated on; and therefore logical disputants can maintain an everlasting controversy. The works and conflicts of the schoolmen completely illustrate this fact, and a specimen of their debates on the universals may be adduced as elucidating how really useless most of their discussions were.

From the disputes on what universals were, arose

CHAP.  
XI.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

that great division of the schoolmen, which distinguished them into the two classes of Realists and Nominalists. The first contending, that what they called an universal, was something really existing in nature; and the latter, that it had no such existence, but was only a name, and a creation of the mind. By these universals, they meant what have been since called general and abstract ideas; those which are alluded to in Martinus Scriblerus, when his father asked him 'if he could not frame the idea of an universal lord mayor,' abstracted from the individual lord mayor, and the fur gown and gold chain which he had seen.

We will subjoin three specimens on the manner in which the subject was discussed, from the Arabian, Al-Gazel, and from the two British schoolmen, Joannes Duns Scotus and William Occham.

#### AL-GAZEL, ON THE UNIVERSALS.

Of the 'intentio,' which is called an Universal, its being is in the intelligible things of the mind, not in singular existences. Some persons hearing what we say, that all men are one in humanity, and that all blackness is one in blackness, have thought that the universal, blackness, may be some thing from which any thing may be; and that an Universal man is something, and that an Universal soul is some being, one in number, and existing in all nominals; as one father in many sons—one soil in many fields.

This is the first error; for if the Universal soul be one in number, and be actually in Peter and John, and others, and Peter were wise and John foolish, it would follow that one soul may be at the same time skilled and ignorant in the same thing, which is incongruous.

So if an Universal animal be one thing in number, and be actually in many individuals, it would follow that the same animal may be, at the same time, swimming in the water and walking on two feet; or may be running on four legs and flying in the air, which is also incongruous.

Universal being is, therefore, only in the intellect of the thing which has the sensitivity. This intellect receives the form of man, and the certitude of it, when some one individual thing is proposed to it; afterwards, if it should see another, a new impression does not take place, but remains the same as before; so if he saw three or four.

Men, singly taken, do not differ from each other in any way in humanity; but if one should afterwards see a wolf, then some quidditas and another image (*depictio*), different from the first, would be made in him.

An Universal, therefore, so far as it is universal, exists in the intellect, and not in any individual thing; therefore, in exterior or actual being, there is no Universal man.

An Universal cannot have many singulars, unless each is distinguished from the other by some difference or accident; for if universality be taken nakedly by itself, without any super-addition which may be joined to it, then number and singularity cannot be imagined in it. There cannot be two blacknesses in the same subject, though there may be two kinds of blackness in different subjects, or in the same thing at different times.

Al-Gazel *Logica et Philos.* Venice, 1506.

CHAP.  
XI.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

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Of our *British schoolmen*, the two most famous were, the Most Subtle Doctor, and the Invincible Doctor; of these, Duns Scotus thinks Universals to be real things, and Occham has been called the prince of the antagonist party.

### DUNS SCOTUS,

The most Subtle Doctor.

THE Universal, like other concrete things, is taken in three ways. Sometimes it is taken for the subjectum (the *upokeimenon*) that is, for the thing of the first meaning, to which the universal meaning is applicable; and in this mode the Universal is the first object of the intellect. Sometimes it is taken for the form, to wit, for the thing of the second meaning; caused by the intellect, and applicable to things of the first meaning: and thus the logician properly speaks of the Universal.

Thirdly, for the aggregate from the subject and the form; and that is a being by accident, because it aggregates different natures from which there is not one by itself; and so it is not from the consideration of any artificer; because of a being by accident there is no science, according to Aristotle in his sixth metaphysics; be-



## BOOK

## II.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

cause, also, it is not definable. Our discourse will, therefore, be only of one of these, to wit, of the Universal taken in the second mode: not of the others.

It is first inquired, whether the Universal is a being? which seems not to be, by Boetius saying that every thing which is, therefore is, because it is one in number. But the Universal is not one in number, because it is predicated of many univocally. Therefore, &c.

Again, According to Aristotle in the predicaments; every thing which is another thing than the first substance, is either said of the first substance, or is in it. But the Universal is another thing than the first substance, and is not said of the first substance, nor is in it. Therefore, &c.

Proof of the Minor—Second substances only are spoken of the first, as appears by Aristotle. But the Universal, as it may be an accident, is not a second substance; nor is it in the first, because then the first substance would be an Universal, as that in which is whiteness, is white.

So if the Universal is a being, it is so either from nature or from the intellect—not from nature, because then it would be a singular, and a term of transmutation. Therefore it is from the intellect alone. Therefore it is a fiction, and so, not a being.

In opposition to this, the Universal is defined by Aristotle, in his first *peri-hermenias*. But there is no definition of a non-existence. Also, according to Boetius, the second meanings are applied to the first. But a non-existence is not applied to an existence.

BUT WE SAY that the Universal is a being, because nothing is understood under the ratio of non-existence; because the intelligible moves the intellect; for as the intellect is a passive virtue (According to Aristotle *de Anima*) it does not act unless it be moved by an object. A non-existence cannot move any thing as an object, because to move is the property of a being in action. Therefore nothing is understood under the ratio of non-existence. But whatever is understood, is understood under the ratio of an Universal. Therefore that ratio is not at all a non-existence.

And as to the first objection, I say that Boetius understands it of that which is besides the operation of the intellect, of which sort the Universal is not: and the same may be said as to the second, which Aristotle so understands.

On the other hand, because it proves that conclusion by this—Because second substances are spoken of the first, they are accidents in the first. But second substances as is there said of them, are not besides the operation of the intellect. Therefore he does

not understand it of those only which are besides the operation of the intellect. CHAP. XI.

Proof of the Minor—Because in the beginning of the chapter, he divides substance into first and second. If, then, that division at all avails, it follows that the members, as he there understands it, are opposed. But because the second substance is besides the operation of the intellect, it is not opposed to the first substance, but is the same. Therefore he does not understand of the second substance quoad illud, that it is a being besides the operation of the intellect. Therefore I say that the Universal is spoken of the first substances. HISTORY OF THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

To that which is against this—because second substances are spoken only of the first; I say that second substances, as it is there said, are accidents, not, indeed, realities (of which he puts another member, as to be in) but intentionalia, of which by themselves it is sufficient to be spoken of. But the Universal is something more common to the second substance, because the second substance is called an Universal, applied to something in the genus of substance.

To the third I say—That the Universal is from the intellect. And when it is said, Therefore it is a fiction: I answer, that this is a non sequitur. Because to a fiction nothing corresponds in the thing without. But to the Universal, something without does correspond, by which the intellect is moved to cause such an intention. For, according to Boetius, a species is a slight similitude of singulars, and genus a more slight one of its species.

Therefore I say, that effectively, it is from the intellect. But materially, whether originally or occasionally, it is from a property in the thing; but not at all a fiction, &c.

Duns Scotus, Quest. 4. p. 4. ed. Ven. 1587.

Let us now turn to his scholar and antagonist,—

WILLIAM OCCHAM,

The Invincible Doctor.

That no Universal is a substance, proved by many reasons and authorities.

THAT no Universal is a substance exterior to or existing out of the mind, may be evidently proved:

1st. Thus—No Universal is a single substance and one in number. If this be denied, it will follow that sortes (chance) will be an Universal, because there is not more reason that one Universal should be one single substance than another. Therefore

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

no single substance is any Universal. But every substance is one in number, and single; because every thing is one thing and not many. For if it be one thing and not many, it is one in number. This is called by all men, one in number.

But if some substance be many things, it either is many single things, or many universal things. If the first be granted, it will follow that a substance may be many men; and then, although the Universal be distinguished from a particular one, it will not be so from particulars.

But if a substance shall be many universal things, I take one of these universal things, and I ask—Is it either many things; or one, and not many? If the last be granted, it will follow that it is single—If the first be conceded, I ask, will it not be either many single things, or many universal things? and thus the process will be in infinitum. Or it will be allowed, that no substance is an universal, and therefore is not a singular.

Again—If an Universal shall be one substance existing in single substances, and distinct from them, it will follow that it may exist without them; because every thing prior to another may naturally, by divine power, exist without it. But the consequens is absurd. Therefore—

Again, if that opinion were true, no individual could be created. If any individual could be, then it would occur, that it would not take its whole being out of nothing, if the Universal, which is in it, was first in another.

From the same it would follow, that God could not simply annihilate an individual, unless he should destroy other individuals. Because, if he should annihilate any individual, he would destroy all which is of the essence of that individual; and by consequence he would destroy that Universal which is in it and in others: and by consequence other things would not remain, since they could not remain with a part of their substance wanting, which would be that Universal.

Again—Such Universal could not be put as any thing totally out of the essence of the individual. It will therefore be of the essence of the individual; and by consequence an individual will be composed of Universals, and so an individual will not be more universal than singular.

Again—It will follow, that something of the essence of our Saviour will be miserable and damned, because that common nature existing really in him, would be damned in the damned, as in Judas. But this is absurd. Therefore—

Many other reasons might be adduced, which for the sake of brevity, I pass by. But I confirm my conclusion by authorities:—

First, by Aristotle, treating in his *Metaphysics* on this question—Whether the Universal be a substance. He demonstrates that no Universal is a substance, when he says it is impossible that a substance should be any thing of those called universals.

[After several references to Aristotle, he adds]

From the preceding authorities it may be collected, that no Universal is a substance, howsoever it be considered. A consideration of the intellect alone does not make any thing to be a substance or not a substance; although the meaning of the term may cause this name *substance* to be predicated of it or not, but not *pro se*. So as if this term, dog—State in this, a dog is an animal. If this stands of the barking animal, it is true; if, of the star in the sky, it is false. Therefore that the same thing should by one consideration be a substance, and by another not a substance, is impossible.

Therefore it must be granted, that no Universal is a substance, however considered. But every Universal is a meaning of the mind, which, according to a probable opinion, is not distinguished from the act of understanding. Whence they say, that the meaning by which I understand mankind, is a natural sign signifying man; as natural, as a groan is a sign of infirmity or pain; and is such a sign, that it may stand for men in mental propositions, as voice may stand for things in vocal propositions.

And that the Universal is a meaning of the mind, is sufficiently expressed by Avicenna, 5 *Meta.* where he remarks, ‘I say, then, that the Universal is expressed in three ways: for that is called an Universal which is spoken of many in action, as man: for that meaning is called an Universal, which nothing forbids to be thought of when it is predicated of many.’ From this it appears, that the Universal is a meaning of the mind, conceived to be predicated of many.

This may be confirmed by reason, for every Universal is predicable of many; but the meaning of the mind only, or the sign voluntarily instituted, is born to be predicated of many, and is not any substance. Therefore the meaning of the mind only, or the sign voluntarily instituted, is the Universal.

But now, I do not use the sign universally for a sign voluntarily instituted, but for that which is naturally Universal; because, indeed, a substance is not born to be predicated afterwards; because, if so, it would follow that a proposition should be composed of par-

CHAP.  
XI.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

particular substances, and by consequence the subjectum would be at Rome and the predicated at Oxford; which is absurd.

Again—A proposition either is in the mind or in the voice, or in writing. But to man they are not particular substances. Therefore it appears that no proposition can be composed of substances, but is composed of universals. Universals, therefore, are not substances in any way.

Occham, *Summa Logicæ*, c. 15. p. 8.

Occham's next chapter is peculiarly directed against Duns Scotus.

Although it be obvious to many, that the Universal is not some substance existing in individuals, beyond the mind, really distinct from them, yet it seems to some that the Universal is in some manner beyond the mind, and in individuals: not, indeed, really, but formally distinct from them. Whence they say, that human nature is in *sortes*, which is contracted to *sortes* by one individual difference; which is not distinguished from that nature really but formally; hence they are not two things; yet the one is not formally the other.

But this opinion seems to be irrational; because, in creatures there cannot be any distinction whatsoever beyond the mind, unless where the things are distinct. If, then, there be any distinction soever between that nature and that difference, the things must be really distinct. I prove it thus by syllogism. This nature is not formally distinct from that nature. But this individual difference is formally distinct from this nature. Therefore this individual difference is not this nature.

So the same thing is not both common and peculiar. Yet, according to these gentlemen, the individual difference is peculiar; but the universal is common. Therefore the universal term and the individual difference are not the same thing.

In like manner opposites cannot suit the same thing; but common and peculiar are opposites, therefore the same thing is not common and proper; which would follow if the individual difference and the common nature were the same thing.

Also—If a common nature were the same really to every individual difference, then there would be really as many common natures as there are individual differences, and by consequence



neither of them would be common, but every thing would be peculiar to the difference, to which it was really the same.

So every thing is by itself, and not through another, distinguished from whatsoever it is distinguished. But there is one humanity of chance, sortis, and another of Plato, but they are distinguished in themselves, not then by added differences.

Thus Aristotle says, whatever differ in species differ in number; but the nature of a man and of a calf differ in themselves in species; therefore they differ in themselves in number.

Hence, that which by no power can concur in many, is by no power predicable of many; but such a nature, if it be the same thing really with individual difference, can by no power suit many things, because it can in no manner suit another individual. Therefore it cannot by any power be predicable of many, and in consequence, can by no power be an Universal.

I take that individual difference, and the nature which it contracts, and I ask—Either between them there is a greater distinction than between two individuals, or a less one? There is not a greater, because they do not really differ; nor a less, because then they would be of the same ratio, as two individuals are of the same ratio; and by consequence, if one is of itself one in number, the rest would be one in number.

So I ask, Whether the nature be an individual difference, or not an individual difference?—If it be, then I argue syllogistically, thus—This difference is not formally distinct from individual difference, but in nature there is this individual difference. Therefore nature is not formally distinct from individual difference.

So this difference is peculiar and not common, and this individual difference is in nature; then the nature is peculiar and not common.

But if it be said that this individual difference is not in nature, the proposition is established; for it follows, that if individual difference be not in nature, then individual difference is not *really* in nature; because from the opposite of the consequent follows the opposite of the antecedent. Thus by arguing that individual difference is *really* in nature—therefore individual difference is in nature—he concludes this chapter with this decision,—“Every essence and quiddity, and whatever is of substance, if it be really beyond the mind, either is simply and absolutely matter, or it is form; or it is composed from these; or it is an imaginable abstract substance, according to the doctrine of the Peripatetics.”

W. Occham, Log. c. 16. p. 8.

## BOOK

## II.

LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

On these Universals, or General and Abstract Ideas, the Nominalists contended, that such general expressions as bird, fish, nation, man, &c. were merely words or names, created by the mind for its convenience ; and the Realists insisted, that they had a positive existence exterior to the mind, and were, therefore, real objects of the imagination. They thought that there was such a thing somewhere as an abstract or universal bird, which was contained in every individual bird, or which existed somewhere or other independently of any particular one ; which seems to resemble the Platonic notion, of some primeval archetypal ideas of every thing existing separately from, and anterior to their created and visible forms. What these ancient schoolmen, with the Aristotelians and Arab logicians, called Universals, Mr. Locke termed ‘ Complex Ideas,’ and ‘ General Ideas,’ made by abstraction\*. ‘ Ideas thus made up of several simple ones put together, I call complex ; such as beauty, gratitude, a man, an army, the universe. I call such complex ideas, which contain not in themselves the supposition of subsisting by themselves, but are considered as dependencies on, or affections of substances ; as triangle, gratitude, murder †.’

\* Mr. Horne Tooke ought to have the credit of this just remark. — ‘ Mr. Locke would not have talked of the composition of ideas, but would have seen that it was merely a contrivance of language ; and that the only composition was in the terms ; and consequently, that it was as improper to speak of a complex idea, as it would be to call a constellation a complex star : and that they are not ideas, but merely terms, which are general and abstract.’

Div. Purley, 1. p. 37.

† Essay Hum. Und. book 2. c. 12.

CHAP.  
XI.HISTORY  
OF THE  
SCHOLAS-  
TIC PHI-  
LOSOPHY.

Neither of these two parties allowed the victory to the other, and their logic maintained either side with equal dexterity, plausibility, and pertinacity. Mr. Locke thought, that our most abstruse ideas are 'only such as the understanding frames to itself, by repeating and joining together ideas that it had either from objects of sense or from its own operations about them;' and that even 'large and abstract ideas are derived from sensation or reflection.' Mr. Horne Tooke more acutely considers them to be rather words than ideas. It certainly is true that the Universals of the logicians have no similar realities or prototypes in nature. They are words indexing thoughts and combinations of the mind, but are not the representatives of actually existing things. So far the ancient Nominalists were right. But some of them pressed their theory into an erroneous scepticism, from which many results were inferred, that were directed to attack all that we most venerate in nature, and most need in society.

But the schoolmen did not always treat on these dialectical subtleties, or with this disputatious verbosity, conveying neither knowledge nor utility. As specimens how they treated better subjects, we will end this chapter with extracts from the works of two of them, the angelical doctor, Thomas Aquinas, and the learned doctor, Albertus Magnus. The pregnant and perspicuous brevity of the style of Aquinas, is remarkable.

## SPECIMEN OF THOMAS AQUINAS.

*Whether there be a Deity?*

Objection:—If one of contraries be infinite, the other would be totally destroyed. But it is understood that in the name of God

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

the infinite good is included, yet evil is found in the world. Besides, what can be accomplished by fewer principles needs not more : but all things in the world may be referred to other principles, as those which are natural, to nature as their beginning; and others to human reason or will, as thence commencing.

Conclusio, or Answer :—There must be found in the nature of things, one primary immoveable being ; the first efficient ; necessary ; not originating from any other. The pre-eminently Good Being, and the Best. Governing previously by intellect, and the ultimate end of all. This Being is God.

His existence may be proved in five ways :—

The first and more manifest is taken from motion. It is certain and palpable to sense, that some things are moved in this world. But whatever is moved is moved by some other : for nothing is moved but according to its power to be moved, and as something else acts upon it. To move is to educe something from power into action. But nothing can be educed from power into action, unless by some being in action ; as fire, which is heat in action, operates on blood, which has the power of being heated, and by this it moves as some other moves it.

It is not possible that the same thing should at the same time be both the action and the power. What is acting as heat cannot be the power of being heated, which is acted on; so it is impossible for the same thing to be both the mover and the moved, or to move itself. Hence, whatever is in motion must have been moved by something else, and if that be in movement too, it must also have an anterior mover. But this cannot infinitely go on so, because then there would be nothing primarily moving, and therefore there would not be any thing moving another ; because the secondary movers only move as they are moved by the first moving agency. The stick acts only as the hand makes it ; therefore we must necessarily come to some primary mover, which is moved by no one, and this is understood by all to be God.

The second mode is from the efficient cause. In these sensible things we find the order of efficient causes. It is not found, nor is it possible to be, that any thing should be an efficient cause of itself, for then it would be prior to itself, which is impossible. But it is not possible that in efficient causes we should proceed in infinitum; because in all efficient ordinary causes, the first is the cause of the middle one, and the middle the cause of the last. The same occurs whether there be many intermediate, or only one. The more remote the cause, the more remote the effect. If, then,

there be no first in the efficient causes, there will be no ultimate or middle one. But if we proceed with the efficient causes in infinitum, there will be no primary efficient cause, and in that case there can be no final effect, and no intermediate ones. But this is obviously false; therefore we must place some first efficient cause, which all name, God.

The third way is taken from the possible and the necessary, as thus:—We find in nature certain things which are possible to be and not to be; as some are found to be generated and to corrupt; and therefore may be and may not be. But it is impossible for all things of this sort always to be, because what is possible not to be sometimes is not. If, then, all things are possible not to be, there was at one time nothing. But if this were true, there would now be nothing; because what is not, does not begin to be, unless by something which is in being. If, then, there ever was no existence, it was impossible that any thing could begin to exist, and thus nothing would be existing. But to say this, would be a manifest falsehood.

All beings, therefore, are not possible; but there must be something certainly and necessarily existent in nature. Whatever is this necessary existence, either has the cause of its necessity elsewhere, or does not have it. But, it is not possible to proceed in infinitum with necessary things, which have the cause of their necessity, any more than with efficient causes, as we have already proved; therefore we must place something which of itself is necessary; which has not from other things the cause of its necessity, but which is the cause of necessary being to others. All say that this is God.

The fourth argument is taken from the gradations which are found in things. There is always found something, more or less, good, true and noble—or, more or less, something else. But more or less is spoken of different things, according as they approach variously to something which is most greatly so. As more hot, which approximates to that which is exceedingly hot. There is, then, something which is the truest, the best, and the noblest; and, therefore, the pre-eminent Being: for those things which are pre-eminently true, are pre-eminent existences, as is mentioned in the second Metaphysics. What, then, is pre-eminently such in any genus, is the cause of all things of that genus; as fire, which is the greatest heat, is the cause of all heat. Hence there is something which to all beings is the cause of being—the cause of goodness, and of every perfection, and this we call God.



BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

The fifth demonstration we take from the government of things ; for we see that some things which are deficient in knowlege, as natural bodies, yet labour without end. Which appears from this, that they operate always, or more frequently in the same manner, that they may pursue what is the best. But those things which have not knowlege do not tend to any end or object, unless directed by a knowing and understanding being--as an arrow from an archer. There is, then, some intelligent being, by whom all natural things are ordained to an end—and this being, we say, is the Deity.

Thus to the first objection we reply, that God, as he is good in the highest degree, would by no means suffer any thing of evil to be in his works, unless he were so omnipotent and good, that he would make good even out of evil. This, therefore, belongs to the infinite goodness of the Deity, that he should permit evils to be, that he should elicit good from them.

To the second we answer, that since nature, on account of its determinate end, operates from the direction of some superior agent, it is necessary that those things which are made from nature, should be referred to God as to their first cause ; so the others mentioned must be reduced to a higher cause, than reason and the human will, because these are mutable and defectible things ; but all things moveable, and possible to fail, should be referred to some principle that is unchangeable, and that of itself is necessary and certain.

Aquin. Summa, p. 5.

For his correctness of diction, and his single clear-headedness of conception ; for the simplicity of his terms, and the precision with which he uses them, Thomas Aquinas, throughout this mighty work, claims to be entitled to our liberal commendation. It is, indeed, an immense magazine of ideas, arguments, unwearied thinking, and of inexhaustible ingenuity. It would be an act of intellectual injustice not to place him at the very head of all the schoolmen of every country in Europe. None have combined such an immense mass of reasoning mind on such a wide and diversified range of inquiry,

with so much sound judgment so much good principle, such useful sentiments, such exact expression, such brevity of phrase, and yet with a continual lucidity of improving thought, as this astonishing man, whose life did not exceed fifty-one years. Our Occham comes the nearest to him in some of his qualities of mind and diction. But, on the whole, he stands, like the highest summit of a lofty range of very distant mountains, superior, distinct, unequalled; though now wholly unvisited, and, except in name, almost every where unknown; and even in that, by very few remembered.

Our extract from Albertus Magnus, shall, to vary an unattractive, and now obsolete style of reasoning phrase, be of a less dialectic and Aristotelian form.

#### ALBERTUS MAGNUS.

Hence we say, that he who by continually purifying the images of his senses, and by reflection, and by the direction of his intellect towards that which is divine, attains to forget what is terrestrial, will internally exercise himself with his chastened and simplified thoughts, on the most uncompounded object that exists—the Deity himself. By this exertion he disperses from his mind all the similitudes, all the notions, all the impressions, all the creatures of sense, and representatives of worldly things, and reserves to himself only God. Upon Him you will find it delightful to meditate with a purified mind and feeling, and with a resigned and devoted will. This, certainly is the final scope of all intellectual employment—to know your Creator, and to repose upon him with the unpolluted thought, the most devoted affection, and the most disinterested confidence. This cannot be done by what appertains to body or matter: but by that faculty by which man is man—and this is his rational spirit. With his worldly images and sensations he sports and trifles; but while he confines himself to these, he associates himself with his animal fellow creatures; for these they possess in common with him; but not having our potentialities of soul, they can perceive, and know nothing but forms and exci-

BOOK  
II.LITERARY  
HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND.

tations of sense. Man exists with a different capability. Created in the image and likeness of his Maker, he exhibits these in his intellect and in his free will. By these he is exalted to an approximation to his God, and may aspire to an union with him, and to a permanent residence in his sacred presence. There all that is earthly will dissolve away, and the soul will be beatified in the light, love and glory of its divine Cause, Source, Friend, and sovereign Benefactor.

Al. Magn. de la Colleg. de l'Anima con. Dio.

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END OF VOL. IV.

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